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Editorial

Higher Education Under Attack in Alberta: Short-term Versus Long-term Consequences

We live in a time when many industrialized countries, including the United States and Japan, are concerned about the quality of education. Japan has a long history of focusing on and financing educational pursuits. In the United States, it is widely recognized that in order to be an international leader and to be competitive with other countries, the educational system must become a priority. In Alberta today, the view appears to be the opposite. In a time of financial difficulty, the government of Alberta led by Premier Ralph Klein has decided that in order to create a competitive business environment, education must be slashed. Although these cuts affect all areas of education, as a university professor my focus in this editorial is to describe the impact of such cuts to the university system.

Let's first consider the reasoning behind a policy that dictates a severe reduction in educational spending. The intention of the government is to make a lean, mean, and competitive economic environment where taxes are low and the province attracts business ventures and outside capital. Indeed, in the short run, by cutting education (and other public services) the government does save money. There is, however, a major hitch. In terms of higher education, class sizes increase, research declines, many of the best professors leave, new scholars are difficult to attract, and the overall morale of those who stay is low.

In accord with the government's goals to cut funds, there is a push to emphasize the training of job-related skills. This emphasis has, in my view, serious negative consequences. During a time of limited resources and staff, we in the university system are being asked to spend more time teaching the practical implications of our subject matter. Traditionally, and for good reasons, a university education has focused on analytical thinking, critical evaluation, writing skills, research competence, and so on. Many of these skills will no longer be developed in students who receive their degrees in Alberta. With three or more courses a week to teach and class sizes that often exceed 50 (more likely 100), it becomes impossible to foster these types of skills. Furthermore, professors who want to keep up with their field and do research will no longer have the time to do so.

Interestingly, these profound alterations are often touted as positive changes that will propel our higher education system into the next century. The implication is that these are forward thinking, positive new directions for higher education. The twist is, however, that in the call for change, the university goes from a dynamic system (a system that produces inquiry and research) to a static one (one that operates only on existing knowledge and resources). Rather than generate new knowledge, professors will parrot existing facts and they will do this only when those facts have an immediate practical payoff.

A good university education is one that prepares students for the future rather than the present. Students may read philosophy, wonder about superconductivity, analyze sentence structures, evaluate cultural practices, research 18th-century English authors, or investigate the navigation of homing pigeons. Such graduates may take a few months to fit into an existing business; some may not generate anything practical, and others may never increase capital in the province. A few, however, will make excellent business partners who have the skills to change when the business climate changes. Some graduates may do something akin to discovering insulin; many others will contribute to a province that is concerned with more than the immediate economy. In fact, it is these students who will (if they exist) take Alberta into the next century.

In the long run, by the time it becomes evident that a decimated university system has serious negative implications for a robust economy, enormous cost will be involved in recovering what has been lost. It is not simply a matter of changing policy and adding money in order to regain an excellent university. Professors will have gone, the university will have a poor reputation, students will have been poorly taught, and centers of excellence will no longer exist. In the short run expenditures will be reduced, but at an immense future cost to all citizens of the province.

Judy Cameron

Perspectives

Getting Educated

Sara Stambaugh
University of Alberta

I decided to begin, like David Copperfield, with being born. Whether or not my birth gave me insight, I was born in a caul (again like David Copperfield) and delivered at midnight by, believe it or not, Dr. Foust. In spite of my obvious qualifications to be a seer, I won't present my visions of the future of higher education now that the president of the University of Alberta has put *Quality First* in a glossy publication that pays lip service to quality and uses double talk to undermine it. Instead, this brief chat will be a glimpse of what I used to think education was about in the days when professors of English and other educators still had clear ideals and standards. To explain some of the changes since my youth, I'll tell you about my own education and some of the people who helped me to get it.

To begin, I was a country kid born in the Depression, and both my parents were straight off the farm. That meant that my mother had to milk the cows and do the farm work before she went to school, as she fought to do through grade 11, when the local school stopped. My father was more typical and sat through, I think, five years in a one-room schoolhouse. Obviously, in those days education belonged to the rich or, perhaps, to city people who had access to a high school.

By the time we settled into southeastern Pennsylvania after the War and my turn came, high school was available, but college wasn't. As grade 12 had been for my mother, college (the American equivalent of university in Canada) was reserved for the rich, but I had my heart set on it.

I had two reasons, first, my terrible crush on Fred Myers, a beautiful and cultured young man in my class. I pined over him as my first love and ideal. Mooning over Fred didn't make life as a teenager any easier, but Fred gave me a standard and kept me from marrying Jakie Groff or some other country boy when I was 18. (Incidentally, years later I met Fred and his wife and children on a train to New York, and I thought to myself, "What fine taste you've always had, Sara.")

The second reason I wanted to go to college was my music teacher, Virginia Darnell. When I was in grade 7 the school music teacher, Mrs. Schwackhammer (we have wonderful names at home) thrust musical instruments at assorted students. She handed me the extra flute, taught me basic blowing, and an-

Sara Stambaugh is the author of two novels, *I Hear the Reaper's Song* (1984) and *The Sign of the Fox* (1991), and of a critical study, *The Witch and the Goddess in the Stories of Isak Dinesen* (1988). Since 1969 she has been a professor of English at the University of Alberta.

nounced that I needed a real teacher. My mother dug into the money she'd been scrimping to buy a new refrigerator, and I started to study with Virginia.

I think I can call Virginia Darnell a mid-century feminist, one of the sort Isak Dinesen refers to as disguising themselves as men, because the climate was so rugged for independent women in the '40s and '50s that they had to tough their way through a male world. Virginia wasn't an intellectual, but she'd toured North America playing bassoon with a women's woodwind ensemble.

When I met her, Virginia was sitting in on French classes at the high school across the road so that she could read French books and magazines, and she made regular trips to Philadelphia to visit friends in the Philadelphia Orchestra. Philadelphia was 60 miles away, a little over an hour by train, but for country people it was the end of the world. As an example, my best friend in high school lived outside Lititz, less than 10 miles from the county seat, but she'd only been to the city once.

Virginia passed me to a flute specialist when she'd done as much as she could to teach me, but she kept me under her wing. She introduced me to local chamber music groups, and she pulled strings so that I could spend my senior year at Lancaster Catholic High School and compete for college scholarships. Subsequently, she even arranged an audition for me with Marybelle Nissley, who offered me the chance to play third-chair flute in the Women's Air Force Band—just in case I wanted to follow in Virginia's footsteps.

I was at the Catholic high school only a year, allegedly to strengthen its music program, though clearly it needed more than I could give it. Still, my Catholic education was invaluable when I came to teach. Besides, during all the masses I had to sit through, the nuns let me read my Bible, and while everybody else was genuflecting, I was absorbing the Latin mass and reading the raciest parts of the Old Testament—both of which have stood me in good stead.

Thanks to Virginia, I won my scholarships and got to college, rather than to the Women's Air Force Band, the local state teachers' college, or a nearby hospital to learn nursing. Bright men could live at home and go to a local liberal arts college for men. I went to Philadelphia to Beaver College which, in spite of current connotations, I can't praise enough. It had a fine English department, and my second adopted mother, Margaret Green, was my freshman English teacher.

Margaret had the reputation of being the meanest, toughest teacher in the department. If she was, it was because she had high standards. She'd worked to get her education during the depression, and she had a profound respect for literature and for the language. PhDs were rare, and Margaret had an MA from Columbia, probably at least as sound a background as most current PhDs. Our chairman, Doris Fenton, did have a PhD, from the University of Pennsylvania. Word was that every year Bryn Mawr tried to hire her away from us.

Still, neither Doris Fenton nor Margaret Green published. Publishing then was for the rare insight or, especially, the comprehension evolved from a lifetime of study, and neither of my teachers would have been so presumptuous. Instead, both of them spent their summers studying and reading everything available about what they had to teach. Interestingly, I realize

now the context the two of them came out of. Both had degrees in classics, the *sanctum sanctorum* 19th-century men had previously reserved for themselves so that they could show their superiority. In other words, my teachers at Beaver were the real avant garde of the women's movement, never strident, always womanly, and invariably professing the highest of moral and intellectual standards.

Neither was a stimulating teacher as measured by the student evaluations now in favor. Margaret terrified her students, and Doris had a high, up-and-down voice just like Eleanor Roosevelt's. I remember sitting through some of her classes with my fingers carefully propping my eyelids open. But I wouldn't have passed my PhD examinations if Dr. Fenton hadn't meticulously presented Milton's classical sources (not in the most stimulating lectures) and, especially, explained Shakespeare's use of tumbling verse in the early comedies—pretty good, I'd say, for undergraduate courses. Both Doris and Margaret were genuine scholars who cared more about passing on knowledge than about entertaining their students. Their central concern was that the students in their classes develop a clear understanding of the works and of their intellectual context, a focus I see emphasized less and less in current English programs.

Thanks to them and my other teachers, by the time I graduated from Beaver I'd gained an appetite for studying more, and once again Virginia Darnell came to my rescue. She proclaimed (Virginia always proclaimed) that to avoid being parochial, I had to go to a different region and to a place with a major symphony orchestra, a measure, she said, of the cultural life. Besides, Virginia came from Minnesota and had a friend on the admission board at the university.

I can't speak for the quality of the department now, but when I was at the University of Minnesota the staff included Huntington Brown in Old English, Jacob Levenson in American literature, Leonard Unger in 17th century, G. Robert Stange in Victorian, Allen Tate in 20th century, and Samuel Holt Monk in the 18th. All my teachers were addressed as *Mr.*, partly because Allen Tate didn't have a PhD, partly to distinguish themselves from professors of education, and partly because they were trying so hard to imitate Harvard and Yale. There was one woman on staff.

Here it's worth mentioning the basic difference between British and American graduate studies (at least as they were in the '60s). Under the British system the emphasis was generally on a central figure or subject, with the assumption that the student would subsequently expand and figure out the rest. The American system, however, was the opposite. Students had to learn a fair amount about everything and only subsequently home in on a subject of concentration. As a result, graduate students at Minnesota took as many courses as they could, because they were tested on them before they could move on, and when they went into the world they had to be ready to teach any course in any area.

That was the reason I took a year in 18th-century literature with Samuel Holt Monk. He didn't adopt me, and from the sex of the students he did adopt, I suspect that he was a totally innocent male chauvinist in an age when southern gentlemen (and others) didn't know better. It doesn't matter, because Mr. Monk showed a generation of young women as well as men what it meant

to be a gentleman and a scholar. Students who went to Minnesota to study Shakespeare took Mr. Monk's course and, instantly infected by his love of his subject, shifted to the 18th century.

Students, of course, are nosey about teachers they like. Rumor had it that during World War II Mr. Monk had personally been responsible for saving an unnamed European cathedral city from allied bombing. Word also was that he'd stood helplessly on the shore and watched his wife and children drown in a motorboat accident. Whatever the truth of these stories, I can personally attest that Mr. Monk was a hypochondriac. Moreover, he took Samuel Johnson's injunctions against cant so much to heart that passing him in the hall and saying "How are you" invariably resulted in a list of symptoms and ailments 15 minutes long.

Nevertheless, Mr. Monk was a model to his students of what a professor should be. He began his lectures by writing on the blackboard all the current books and articles he'd drawn from or that were pertinent to the subject. However, like my other favorite teachers, he'd have failed current teaching evaluations. Mr. Monk stuttered. He got terrific stage fright every time he had to face a class. I well remember all of us leaning forward and trying as hard as we could to encourage him to get a word out, while he stood paralyzed and sputtering at the front of the room.

When he could speak, however, his love of his subject took over. And his love was contagious, especially because it was based on so profound a knowledge of the 18th century. Talking about Pope's *Belinda*, for example, Mr. Monk suddenly got shy about her toilet table, blushed (as a gentleman from Virginia should), and only hinted at the unmentionable ingredients used in 18th-century cosmetics. Another time, carried away by his subject, he inadvertently alluded to one of Alexander Pope's early sexual adventures. He stopped suddenly, stuttered to a halt—and gave his students even more reason to study the 18th century.

Sam Monk also had a meticulous eye and ear for the language. One of my friends who wrote his thesis with him told me that he once deliberately slipped in a participial phrase without a specific grammatical antecedent, as a test. Of course Mr. Monk caught it and lambasted Bill for sloppy writing.

The quality of Mr. Monk's own prose is clear from the section he contributed to *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*. Recently, rereading his introduction to the 18th century brought tears to my eyes, because it is so imbued with the spirit of the man, who, like my earlier teachers, taught me that the ideal of writing was to present a complex subject so lucidly that anyone could understand it. So far as I can tell, Mr. Monk's introduction to the 18th century is the only section not largely rewritten in Volume I of the latest edition of the *Norton*, I assume, because the current editor realized that Mr. Monk's prose and lucid explanations of, say, the workings of the heroic couplet couldn't be bettered.

Still, by the current standards used for university promotions, Mr. Monk would not do well. After all, he stuttered, he sometimes all but fell into paralysis in the middle of class, and, especially, he didn't publish enough. His reputation was built upon one brilliant book, *The Sublime*. Nevertheless, what

he wrote was important enough to shift perceptions about the 18th century, he was known and respected by leading experts across the English-speaking world, and he formed a generation of scholars.

I've told you who my models were and what they taught me, but in each case they taught one central lesson: that teachers teach ideals, which, at least in my own profession, seem nowadays to have dissipated into nebulous and contradictory theories about the function of the teacher, the purpose of language, and the very nature of English studies. Though I was born in a caul and should have second sight, I don't have a vision for the future. What I can see, however, isn't *Quality First* for our present and future students.

Perspectives

Implementing the Modified Four-day School Week

C. Del Litke

Lacombe Junior High School

On February 1, 1994 Lacombe Junior High School in Alberta, under the leadership of principal Don Pollock, implemented a pilot project of a modified four-day school week that extended from February 1994 to June 1994. Using existing county busing schedules and policy framework, the 500 students at Lacombe Junior High started their day five minutes earlier, ended their school day five minutes later, and had their noon hour shortened to 30 minutes. The outcome was a schedule that consisted of nine 40-minute classes as opposed to eight 40-minute classes. As a result, 81 classes were taught in a nine-day period as opposed to 80 classes previously taught in a 10-day period, which allowed both staff and students to take every second Friday off.

It had been five years since I left my master's program at the University of Alberta. I was ready to take on the world of educational administration, and I was armed with the research of my thesis on educational change. I would be a change agent; I had done my homework. I possessed the knowledge of extensive study of Fullan, Hord, Loucks, Hall, and others regarding change: "Change is a process, not an event." "Change is a personal decision" (Hord, 1987, pp. 93-94). Well, halfway through a public forum I had a revelation. Change may be a personal decision, but all these angry parents are an awfully tough group. The only personal part about this decision seems to be the attacks on our administrative team. I haven't slept well for weeks, my stomach is constantly in knots, and I jump three meters in the air whenever a phone rings. Hey, you writers, I think you forgot to warn me about a few things! I now realize why change happens so slowly in education. I didn't realize I had so many bosses.

The Initial Thought

It is appropriate to mention at this time that my principal is either extremely creative or nuts. When we get together and talk about the school, he is prone to come up with what he calls his "Scheme of the Week," which is often an idea far from the mainstream of educational thought and practice. Lately I had been lamenting about the difficulty of his schemes. I had been reading Senge's (1990) *The Fifth Discipline: The Art and Practice of the Learning Organization*, and I was struck by his concept of *systems thinking*. I pointed out that every time we had a good idea, we had to run over to the timetable and see if it would schedule or check with the busing schedule, or ... the problem as I saw it wasn't with the

Del Litke has 12 years of secondary school experience and has been Assistant Principal for five years. He completed his master's degree at the University of Alberta.

scheme; it was with the system, the timetable, the schedule. I didn't realize he was listening.

After a particularly contentious staff meeting, we again began to consider seriously the problem of noon supervision. It was apparent that a large majority (420+) of our student body of 500 was staying at lunch hour, causing enormous stress for supervisors, discipline problems for administration, and clean-up problems for our maintenance staff. Our school ran extremely well when the students were in classes; unfortunately, it was chaotic during noninstructional time. Again the system came into question. How can we address our noon-hour problems? Our system locked us in with timetables, bus schedules, other schools using our facilities, and provincial requirements for instructional hours. Perhaps our answer was in examining the system itself. After all, extensive funding cuts by the Alberta government to education in the province of Alberta demanded that the education system be changed and that a basic education be defined. Preceding these cuts were a number of "Educational Round Tables" that were held throughout the province designed to solicit input from all educational stakeholders to determine which elements of education were basic and should continue to be funded and which elements of education were nonessential and should be earmarked for funding cuts. It was apparent in all three round tables that I attended that noon-hour activities and intramural programs were identified as frills, and that they should not be part of funding a basic education program when cuts were to come. Exploration of other ideas such as four-day weeks and year-round schooling were encouraged at the round tables to maximize facility use and minimize the costs for providing basic education. Hence when we began to examine the system, the seeds of the idea of the modified four-day week were sown.

After throwing the idea around, our administrative team agreed to give the four-day week concept some thought, which I thought meant the issue was dead. Often when we agree to give things thought we simply don't have time to reconsider the idea. However, then our principal came in with his latest Scheme of the Week: The Modified Four-day Workweek. During Christmas vacation we met to discuss the specifics of the proposal, and a meeting was scheduled with central office to discuss the proposal. Our outline was to receive central office permission, staff permission, then student and parent permission.

The original meeting with the superintendent and his deputy left us with a mixed reaction. We did not receive permission, nor were we rejected. Our principal was scheduled to make his pitch to the board of education at their next meeting. History dictated that this meant the project was finished. Our school board had not been in favor of any schedule changes in the past. It was also suggested at this meeting that if instructional time could be increased or prep time could be addressed, the proposal would be more saleable to the public. It was also suggested that we not go to the public with our proposal before the board meeting because it upset the decision makers to be the last people notified. This would prove to be a controversial decision later.

We decided to approach our teachers next with the idea because if they weren't in favor, there would be no use going to the board. Here is the time that

one of Fullan's principles on change reared its head: *characteristics at the district level* (Fullan, 1982, p. 56), specifically history of board-teacher relations. A prolonged and bitter teachers' strike in 1992 had left the teachers and the board in our district with a great deal of mutual mistrust. During discussions with our staff, we revealed that the Modified Four-day Week proposal would involve 20 more minutes per week of instruction than the present system. Over a semester this would add up to 20 additional hours of instruction, or more than three full school days. We included this in the Modified Four-day Week proposal to deal with the possible argument that it would be just another day off for teachers. We simply felt the extra instructional time would be more saleable to the public. However, the bitterness of the strike had the staff focus on the instructional time issue extensively. The strike had left some staff members feeling unappreciated and bitter, and they didn't like the idea of working extra hours for no remuneration. In addition, the inevitable 5% salary reduction proposed by the Alberta government in its cuts to educational funding caused some staff to immediately dismiss the idea because the proposal would see teachers ultimately working more hours for less money. After a long debate, the staff voted by secret ballot on the proposal. The result was that just less than 80% of the staff endorsed the idea. My personal perception was that many teachers felt that the board would just reject the idea anyway. Regardless, this staff endorsement meant the proposal would go to the board.

Many hours were spent preparing the presentation that our principal was to give to the board of education. For the first time research was solicited, specifically from Jim Weed, the principal of Meadowbrook School in Airdrie (a small city just north of Calgary, Alberta) who had been working on a four-day school week proposal for his school for over a year. Hours were spent combing the research to bring out both the positives about the four-day week and also the concerns. We were pleased with our findings. The four-day school week had been successfully implemented in a number of school districts in the United States, specifically in the states of New Mexico, Colorado, Oregon, and New Hampshire. According to separate studies by Grau and Shaughnessy (1987) and Reinke (1987), the positive benefits of the four-day school week were numerous. First of all there were significant savings (Grau & Shaughnessy, 1987). Reinke (1987) indicates that "transportation and maintenance costs were down 18%, bus gasoline savings from 15% to 23% and there were additional energy savings (electricity, fuel oil) as well as classified employee's salaries (bus drivers, cooks, secretaries, aids, and custodians)" (pp. 3-4). Given the nature of Alberta politics with the emphasis on eliminating the provincial budget deficit through program cuts, we knew that this would be a big selling point with the politicians.

Other positive factors were identified in the research such as more time for staff development, more time for co-curricular and extracurricular activities, improved attendance by staff and students, higher school morale, more parental involvement, often more instructional time, more family time, and lower dropout rates (Reinke, 1987, pp. 4-5). In addition, McCoy (1983) states that there is "no reason to believe that school achievement or quality of education is hindered when school districts switch to a four-day schedule" (p. 35). In

endorsing the four-day week, Blankenship (1984) states, “Teaching ‘smart’—that is, making more efficient use of available learning time—is the best way to promote effective learning” (p. 32).

There were also some drawbacks to the four-day week. Reinke (1987) identifies the following drawbacks: school financial savings are downloaded to parents (babysitting, etc.); longer days are difficult for younger children; loss of retention occurs for special-needs students; a number of three-day weeks result from other holidays; the difficulty and expense to revert to a five-day week; and the inconsistency of the four-day week with a strong North American educational reform movement that advocates for even longer school days and a longer school year (pp. 8-9). We felt because we were a junior high, dealing with students aged 12 to 15, that many of these drawbacks, especially child care, would not necessarily apply, and we were enthusiastic about the possible positive benefits of the four-day week.

We also felt that our board was confused, as was everyone in education in Alberta, about the direction of funding, and that they would be more willing to experiment than they had been in the past. This feeling, along with the research, made us cautiously confident that our proposal would be accepted despite the history of changes with this board.

The presentation to the board went well, and late in the afternoon we were notified that the board had passed the motion to permit the pilot project subject to “parental approval.” Panic set in with our administrative team. Parent approval was far more elaborate than our original plan. It implied a general meeting and a formal vote, not an item on a Parent Advisory Committee (our school parent group) agenda! The date was January 11, and we were scheduled to begin February 1. Time was of the essence, and neither parents nor students had been contacted.

A Huge Error?

Those who teach in a secondary school will understand—it’s tough to get students to take home information. We had to get the students to take a letter home to their parents notifying them of a public meeting to discuss the four-day week due to the board motion. We had timelines; therefore, the students had to be informed of the change so that they would make sure that the letters got home. If we didn’t tell them, we felt that the letters would not get home. Either way, the process was wrong from the parent point of view. Don’t tell the students, and the information does not get home—a mistake. Tell the students so that the information gets home, and the parents are angry at being the last ones informed—a mistake. Mail the letters and we’ve spent \$250.00, and the information may not get home in time given our deadlines—also a mistake. Well, we chose to explain the changes to the students. Our administrative team divided up the classes in the school, went over the positive and negative aspects of the change with the students, and took a student vote. The result was that 82% of the student population was in favor of the Modified Four-day Week. We then gave them the letter outlining the project and inviting the parents to a general meeting to discuss the project. Now we had to sit back and wait.

The letter that we sent home was hastily prepared and, to be honest, not very good. The next day our monthly newsletter came out, and we tried to address the problem of the initial letter in a more diplomatic manner, but we knew it was too late. Conversations with our Parent Advisory Committee (PAC) President revealed that she was squarely against the proposal. She had not been informed, she not did view the proposal in the spirit of an educational partnership, the process was wrong, and she proceeded to oppose us in the local newspaper. With five days to the public meeting, we were going off the rails.

The Public Meeting

The unsettling thing going into the public meeting was that we had received only one phone call and virtually no response from the public regarding the pilot project. The responses that I solicited from friends were varied. I was accused of selling the kids a bill of goods and then encouraging them to go home and work on their parents, and I was praised for trying to be innovative. I did get a chance to practice both my debating skills with the research and trying to remain calm during verbal assaults. The second part was a lot tougher.

Preparation for the meeting was taking time away from the problems in the school and the classes that I teach, and the pressure was taking away from my sleep. Basketball coaching was not helping the problem. Fullan was right. Change is tough. Somehow, reading and writing about change was a lot easier than implementing and surviving it.

Before the meeting we knew a number of things would be difficult. First of all, the PAC President would probably breach the impartiality of the chair and enter debate against us. This happened. Also, at the last minute we became aware of a poster campaign against the program that was circulating around town bemoaning the fact that the students would miss intramural time, lunch time, and noon-hour club time if the proposal went through. We could clearly see where some individuals' priorities in education were going to be.

At the meeting our principal spoke first regarding the new program in philosophical terms, and I spoke about the actual timetable and calendar and also addressed the difficulties of changes. When we were both finished, to absolutely no applause, we were ready to field questions. The first question was a dandy: "If these three extra days that you are going to be working as a result of this program change are so important, does that mean if this proposal doesn't go through, that you will take a day off Easter Break, Christmas Break, and summer vacation to make them up?" Oh boy, I could feel my temperature rise, my stomach churn, and total despair consume me. I wrote a note on my outline: "It's dead." The audience seemed to think it was a relevant question, however, and it summoned some courage in two women in the front row to continually roll their eyes and provide negative commentary on any of our responses. This was personal, and we were alone. Much of the rest of the evening was a blur. Sometimes it seemed like attack after attack, cheap shot followed by cheap shot. By 8:45 I was exhausted and depressed. I had come to school at seven that morning for a basketball practice, worked through the day, including detention room at noon, had meetings after school, gone home for 45

minutes for supper and to change my shirt, and now we were being attacked for being lazy teachers—9:00 to 3:30 and wanting an extra day off every two weeks. We refused to be baited by the attacks, and we stuck to answering the questions. I wanted to scream that an eight-hour day for me ended about five hours ago, but some of these people had not come to listen.

Then it happened—a member of the audience spoke in favor of the proposal. She said that she thought it was worth a try. She appreciated the time and effort put into this proposal, and that the change in work week might lead to better academic performance and significant savings. Besides, she reasoned, five months was not such a long time to try something, and most of the months had only one extra day off because of all the Friday holidays anyhow. She sat down to applause. You could feel the mood in the room start to change. There was a recognition by some members of the audience that we had taken a lot of abuse, and that we had anticipated this abuse coming into the meeting. Despite this unpleasant pressure, we had pressed on. I think a number of the audience began to appreciate that it would have been much easier for us to do nothing and spare ourselves this meeting. Those people were taking the proposal very seriously.

After the meeting, I accepted some compliments on both my courage and the idea. To some we had become martyrs in the process because some of the attacks had been too harsh. The final straw for many occurred when a parent suggested that the ballot box be carefully scrutinized, implying that we couldn't be trusted to count the ballots fairly. One parent immediately stood up, apologized for the slight, and added, "We trust them with our kids. I am sure they can count the ballots!"

I was just glad it was over. Our administrative team met and vowed that tomorrow we would forget this meeting and concentrate on the school.

The Next Week

The next day we were out in force with the students and in the school trying to atone for a week of neglect. We were determined to focus on the school; however, it was not entirely possible. Our PAC President insisted on a great deal of control over the material that was to be sent out with the ballots to the parents. She had gone to central office expressing her concern with the process. Our principal was called over to central office and learned that they had some second thoughts over the process. The letter that was to be sent with the ballot had to be changed to a neutral stance, and the ballot would now have three options: yes, no, and delay. There would also be room for comments on the ballot. When he returned to the school, the pressure of the situation had taken its toll. He had taken this project through central office, through the board, through our staff, through the students, and now he suggested scrapping the ballot and shelving the project. He had shown tremendous courage and creativity to construct a workable plan within a system with a large busing component and shared instructional facilities. He was demoralized because he felt that central office feared the project would fail, and he was uncomfortable with the fact that some groups, notably parents and bus drivers (understandably with the future possibility of losing a day's pay), would try to sabotage the pilot and not allow it to work.

At this point, I reminded him of all that we had gone through to this point, especially the public forum, that we had indicated that there would be a ballot, and that parents would have final say on the project. Our credibility had been attacked, and if we bailed out now by shelving the project we would lack credibility in the future. We finally agreed that, win or lose, the vote must take place. In addition, we would invite other groups to help us count the ballots because we did not want to be accused of tampering with the results if we counted them in private and we won. We wanted nothing to do with those ballots.

The PAC President and Assistant Superintendent agreed to help tally the results, and one more final spin was put on the vote at the insistence of the PAC President: the result was only valid if over 50% of the parents responded. Anything less than 50% would mean defeat of the proposal regardless of the count. This increased the tension with the PAC President, and we were all stressed.

The Ballot Count

I had a basketball game after school so I excused myself from the ballot count. In truth, I wasn't sure I cared anymore. I secretly vowed that I would not go through this again. I had relearned the lesson of the first-year teacher: theory and practice are sometimes miles apart. Change is a lot tougher than Fullan indicated, and he never said it was easy.

The final ballot had a 58% response rate with 58% of the respondents voting "Yes," 36% "No," and 6% "Delay." A local television station had set up at the school to give both radio and television coverage to the announcement of the vote. Our principal thanked those parents who supported us, and vowed to do to all we could to work together with parents who were opposed to make the project work. Our PAC President predictably criticized us for the process saying parents weren't properly involved or informed. Personally, I was surprised by the outcome. I had prepared myself for a defeat psychologically so I wouldn't feel as much bitterness if the proposal were rejected. I then experienced a series of different emotions. First I was euphoric about the victory of our proposal; however, suddenly I became awestruck about what we had accomplished amid such negative and vocal criticism. Then panic set in as I realized that we were to begin going under the microscope for the next five months, especially with over one third of the parents opposed to the plan.

"Andy Warhol's 15 Minutes"

The next school day was chaotic. Two television crews wanted to come into the school and report on the project. Numerous radio stations from all over Canada requested interviews and quotations. School systems and schools phoned requesting information regarding the pilot project. It was a day of images I'll never forget: dozens of hyper adolescent students followed an overwhelmed television cameraman around the school at noon hour as I was rushed off to do an interview with a "Talk Radio" station in Winnipeg. I was physically and mentally spent, and I wondered when and if school would ever be the same.

The Aftermath

We have been on the new program for two months, and so far there have been a few surprises. The first surprise was the initial burst of interest in the project. Because we had been so preoccupied with the pilot, we didn't focus as much on the events in the provincial scene. In conversations with other educators, I didn't realize how prevalent the feeling of despair was in the ranks of teachers and administrators throughout the province of Alberta because of the Klein government's direction in education. Our project had served as a diversion from the gloom and doom in the Alberta educational scene.

The second minor surprise was the criticism that our project received from some educators in the area, specifically teachers at the elementary level. Some teachers saw child care as the most important issue in the project, and asked what working parents would do if the program was expanded to the elementary level. I was a little puzzled. If the project were to be expanded, it would be because it was effective and efficient. Supplying babysitting should not be the priority, and I felt teachers especially would recognize this. With the Alberta government pledging to cut nearly 15% from the education budget for the 1994-1995 school year, it is obvious that fundamental changes are going to take place in the schools. For the County of Lacombe the changes will be even greater. The county has benefited tremendously financially from the nature of local funding of education in Alberta because of the large corporate industrial sector located in the eastern section of the county that has pumped millions of dollars of tax money annually into the educational budget of the county. With the Alberta government decision to take over the funding of education from the local governments and then allocate the funds across the province on a per-pupil basis, the corporate funding for the County of Lacombe will be lost. Residents of the county may be faced with the unique experience of seeing their property taxes rise significantly at the same time as their educational budget significantly shrinks. Programs will be lost. Students will suffer. Education will suffer. I would hope that parents would be willing to bear the burden of arranging periodic babysitting if a proposal can help save educational programs for their children or make class sizes more manageable. I would hope that teachers would support any project that may be beneficial for education.

Our first PAC meeting was a surprise also. Despite the split opinions in our PAC regarding the idea, they were extremely helpful in putting together a monitoring process to evaluate whether the project should proceed past June. The monitoring process consists of two parts. The first is a questionnaire that will check the perceptions of parents, students, and staff twice throughout the pilot period. The questionnaire will ask not only if the stakeholders like or dislike the project, but will also solicit input regarding the positives and negatives, and it will ask whether the project should continue. The second part of the monitoring process will deal with the collection of statistical data. The PAC asked that information be gathered on absenteeism rates for staff and students, utility cost comparisons, incidence of discipline problems, a school vandalism report, student achievement comparisons, a police report, and a report from the town recreation department. After the second questionnaire is issued in early June, all the data will be tabulated and forwarded to the Board of Educa-

tion. A report from our principal will accompany these data with a recommendation for the Board. The Superintendent and the Board will make the final decision whether the project will be extended. There will be no more public meetings! I was extremely pleased that even though some of parents on the Parent Advisory Committee did not support the project, they were willing to give it a chance, and they gave excellent input into the monitoring process.

Overall, I think that the project has been successful thus far. Discipline problems related to noon hours have decreased substantially. My perception is that teacher stress has decreased. The tumultuous pre-Easter period for which large junior high schools are famous was less hectic. I believe that students and staff have adapted well to the longer instructional day. Has the change had a positive effect on the teaching-learning process? I honestly don't know. Time will tell.

Implications for Educators

This process has provided us with a great deal of insight into the dynamics of educational change, and I would make the following recommendations and observations to those planning major changes.

1. Principals and other school-based administrators have a vital role to play in the implementation of change. They must take a leadership role and be willing to defend their ideas and accept the negative criticism that will be associated with major change. They must be prepared to accept the emotional baggage associated with major change as the change meets resistance from the stakeholders. They must realize that, unfortunately, the easy thing is to do nothing; however, good educational leadership in today's society does involve taking both risks and the responsibility for those risks.
2. School and school district climate is vital to the change process. This pilot probably would have been rejected in previous years. The cost cutting measures of the Alberta government, the uncertainty of the future of local school boards and central offices, and the high level of anxiety in society regarding the economy have made stakeholders more receptive to change. The political realities of each school and each school district are different, and the agents of change must understand the consequences of those realities.
3. As is indicated by numerous authors who write about change, change is a process, not an event. Effective change takes time, energy, and resources. We have now instituted the pilot project of the modified four-day week. The work has just started. It must be monitored closely, and all stakeholders must have their say on whether the program should be cancelled, continued, or expanded. A criticism that can be made about this project is that the timelines did not facilitate the involvement of all the stakeholders properly, especially the parents. This may be true; however, a look at the Meadowbrook project in Airdrie, Alberta, indicates that on occasion we in education can get paralysis from analysis. That particular project had over a year and a half lead time with extensive research and consultation with the stakeholders. It was delayed consistently pending final approval from the Board. It finally passed—less than a week after ours. Coincidence? I think

not, and neither do some individuals involved in the project at Meadowbrook.

4. Make sure to have central office staff and the local board clearly on-side. The vision that you have of the change must also be their vision. If these stakeholders have second thoughts when the heat is on in the middle of the process, this potentially can be devastating to the project. In fairness, the second thoughts we perceived in our central office after our public meeting were neither malicious nor of the nature of bailing out; it's just that we got advice when what we really needed was encouragement.

Overall, although our board and central office did not take an active public role in the process, they did have a sincere desire to see the proposal work. They also exhibited courage in risking public backlash by allowing the project to proceed when they easily could have destroyed it in its infancy.

5. Make sure change agents have a clear grasp of the big picture. The process can get extremely emotional and personal, and kneejerk reactions to the pressure are understandable. As an administrative team, you need to support each other and be sympathetic listeners when emotions are frayed; however, you must maintain a focus of your original goals and realize that time will inevitably pass and so will emotions.
6. Because change takes a great deal of time, energy, and support, proposed changes must be carefully weighed to consider not only the desired effect of the program, but the effect that the implementation will have on existing programs. Innovation is not simply an addition; it changes the structure of the programs in existence because those programs may have to sacrifice the time and energy that they previously received in order to implement change. Our change has affected the entire nature of the school right down to administrivia such as supervision schedules, where students are dropped off by buses, and the way announcements are made. Also, the time that was taken to prepare for the change by administration postponed other duties. Therefore, proposed changes must be priorities, not frills, or the quality of education offered to the student could be sacrificed.

There is little question that we in education, especially in Alberta, are living in difficult times—times of change. These are not just the economic changes and the impact they will bring, but also changes in parental roles and governance. What we achieved in this project is not a blueprint for change; it may be merely the “science of muddling through” (Lindblom, 1959). However, unless we are willing to take chances and initiate change, we will be forced to accept changes and will relinquish to others control of our destiny. Our students will have to be creative, resourceful, and flexible to succeed in the future. The times dictate that as educators we will have to be creative, flexible, and resourceful to ensure quality education in the future. We can no longer justify systems in education based on the reason that “That’s the way that it’s always been.” Our modified school week may prove to be no more than a five-month experiment, but it has enabled us to explore and discover things that we would not have discovered had we done nothing. I also have no doubt that some of these discoveries will benefit the students in our school. To me this makes the project successful whether it continues or not. As educators, we also can no longer take the easy way out and avoid conflict. In our current educational climate, taking

the easy way out may be the most dangerous route we can take with the futures of children.

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ESL Dropout: The Myth of Educational Equity

Research into the educational equity afforded students in Canadian schools has often masked the case of ESL high school students in larger statistical samples. This article reports the findings of a unique tracking study aimed directly at ESL high school students. The study tracked the educational progress of 232 ESL high school students and found an alarming blended dropout rate of 74%. It also calculated specific dropout rates according to the one consistently predictive variable that emerged from the study: English language ability at entry to high school. Apparent differences in the patterns of dropout are further characterized under the labels fall-out, push-out, and dropout. The article concludes with some recommendations to address the myth of educational equity for ESL students in high school.

La recherche dans l'équité éducative des élèves inscrit(e)s dans les écoles canadiennes a souvent masqué, dans les échantillons statistiques, le cas des élèves du niveau secondaire qui apprennent l'anglais comme langue seconde (ALS). Dans cet article, on présente les conclusions d'une recherche unique qui cherchait à dépister le têt de décrochage des élèves ALS du niveau secondaire. La recherche a suivi le progrès scolaire de 232 élèves du secondaire dans un programme ALS et révèle un têt alarmant de décrochage scolaire combiné qui s'élève jusqu'à 74%. L'habileté langagière en anglais dès l'entrée au secondaire est une des variables ressortie de la recherche-même qui pouvait prédire de façon constante le têt de décrochage. En utilisant cette variable prophétique on a pu calculer le têt de décrochage spécifique des élèves ALS. Des difficultés apparentes dans les modèles de décrochage sont d'autant plus caractérisées sous les étiquettes: "fall-out" ceux et celles qui quittaient les rangs de façon volontaire; "push-out" ceux et celles qui se faisaient sortir du programme; et "drop-outs" ceux et celles qui se retiraient ou décrochaient du programme. On conclut l'article en présentant des recommandations qui adressent les mythes de l'équité éducative pour les élèves ALS des écoles secondaires canadiennes.

Introduction

Immigration and the educational success of school-aged immigrants are essential elements of the Canadian ethos. Immigration has been on the rise since 1986, and all indications are that it will continue to increase at a rate similar to that of the great immigration waves of the 1900s. The interests of immigrants and Canadian nationhood converge: although immigrants may choose to come to Canada, Canada is also economically dependent on the successful integra-

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tion of immigrants (Statistics Canada, 1993). New Canadians stabilize the population base and ensure sustainable economic growth (Employment and Immigration Canada, 1990). Essential to this growth is a well-schooled, socially cohesive, literate labor force. The debilitating effects of limited literacy, educational dropout, and the resulting social marginalization fray the social fabric.

A shift in immigration trends over the past 15 years has given rise to a number of educationally related policy and programming initiatives. The 1971 multicultural policy recognized the essential role of language, culture, and ethnicity in the Canadian identity. At the same time, English as a Second Language programming became an essential part of the institutionalized responsibility of education. At the local level in Alberta, the Calgary Board of Education provided ESL support to 3,338 students in 1993, one third of whom were either junior high or senior high school age. How do these students fare in our school system? Research on immigrant children's successful integration into the education system has focused largely on academic achievement. Canadian studies (Cummins, 1986; Early, 1993), as well as American studies (Collier, 1987, 1989; Collier & Thomas, 1989), have investigated the level of language proficiency required for academic success, the length of time required for immigrant students to become academically competitive with their English-speaking age peers, and aspects of achieving academic success. However, academic success is the combination of both academic achievement and year-to-year educational progress. Although achievement can be measured by testing, progress must be measured by tracking. Progress studies that report statistics on early school-leavers tend not to focus on the progress of high school ESL students. Radwanski's (1987) study of high school dropout in Ontario has noted a consistent increase in ESL dropout reaching the level of 53% in 1986. More recently, Alberta Education's study (1992) reported a 61% dropout for ESL secondary students in Alberta.

Although these studies give reason for alarm, we felt that a refinement of these findings was necessary for them to be useful for the purposes of policy development and program design. The issue that lies behind these studies is that of educational equity. A growing number of studies (Grey, 1991; Minicucci, 1992; Sinclair, 1992; Spener, 1988) indicate that language minority students do not experience academic success in school, but rather suffer from frustration and marginalization, finally culminating in dropout. The aim of this study is to provide some insights into the educational opportunities that exist for ESL students in the present system in the province of Alberta.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to track the progress of ESL high school students from their first ESL class to their point of exit from school in such a way that we could:

- specify points of exit, degrees of risk, and profiles of school leavers;
- identify significant factors among those who successfully completed a high school diploma;
- make some suggestions for change in policy, administration, and programming, based on the findings.

Background

The definition of dropout varies widely in the current literature, though this has not always been the case. Until only recently *dropout* was broadly defined as “anyone who did not complete the requirements for high school graduation.” Education Ministries across Canada as well as other stakeholders uniformly accepted this definition, and thus there was consistency in the way dropout was calculated and reported. A generally accepted figure for dropout nation-wide is 30%-35% (Human Resources and Labour Canada, 1993).

An examination of recent local, provincial, and national studies reveals a multiplicity of definitions and methodologies for calculating dropout (Alberta Education, 1992; Calgary Board of Education, 1991; Human Resources and Labour Canada, 1993). Often these are related to the sources of data available for such studies and include high school attendance records, graduation rate data, and family allowance data. Accurate reporting and hence understanding of dropout is beset by recent methodological innovations. New methods of calculating dropout easily confound a naive public. The *annual (per grade) dropout* rate calculates the percentage of students across a particular age or grade range who drop out in any given school year. This figure tends to be low, averaging approximately 8% over the past decade in Alberta (Alberta Education, 1992). *Longitudinal dropout* takes into account students entering grade 9 who drop out before completing high school: thus a cumulative calculation. This figure is reported as 34% in Alberta (Alberta Education, 1992). The terminology *confirmed* and *apparent* dropout are used to refine the construct of dropout at the jurisdiction level (Calgary Board of Education, 1993). Confirmed dropout includes those students who participated in formal school withdrawal procedures (26% system-wide for grades 9-12: 1991-1992). Apparent dropout includes the larger number of students who do not make their intentions or plans known and who cannot be traced in the system (41% system-wide for grades 9-12: 1991-1992). Administrative personnel in the Calgary Board refer to a *blended* dropout rate that would reflect an average of the confirmed (lower figure) and apparent (higher figure) dropout. This would result in a dropout figure of 33%.

Further, the introduction of new terminology to account for students who disappear over the summer, students who drop out but then come back, or students who register as adults in postsecondary schooling institutions all contribute to the manufacture of “dirty data” (LeCompte, 1987), and the consequent difficulties in comparing study results. But to do the math is to know that in essence little has changed over the past decade: the dropout figure (i.e., the number of grade 9 students who do not fulfill graduation requirements) remains at 33%.

Little is known about ESL dropout in the context of these figures. Once again, the problem of definitions and methodology confounds the results, making it difficult to compare studies. Alberta Education (1992) proffers a blended dropout figure of 61% for students between grades 8 and 12, based on 1987 funding figures. Radwanski (1987), in his Ontario study, suggests a dropout rate of 53% for high school ESL students (grades 9 to 12).

For the purposes of this study, *dropout* is defined to include all grade 10-12 ESL registrants who withdrew from school without having fulfilled the requirements for

graduation from high school. This simplified definition of dropout is largely consistent with the definition offered by the Calgary Board (1993) in the *Student Withdrawal Report, 1991-1992 School Year*, and allows us to focus on the real problem of early school leaving. As Radwanski (1987) succinctly put it, "divorce is divorce." Whether one wants to play the game again at a later time is another issue.

ESL is defined to include all students who received ESL support while registered at the high school at which the study was conducted. This included students who fell within the guidelines established by Alberta Education as outlined in Part 2, Section 9 of the *School Grants Manual* (Alberta Education, 1992), as well as students who did not meet Department criteria for funding: that is, they were beyond the three-year funding limit or were Canadian-born but nonetheless were offered support on the basis of demonstrated and obvious need.

Method

The study was conducted in a large, comprehensive urban high school in Alberta. Of the 1,500 students registered at the school in 1992-1993, 40% spoke a language other than English as their first language; however, only about 8% of the school population received ESL support during the years of the study (1988-1993). The most-often spoken languages other than English included Vietnamese (12%), Chinese (10%), Arabic (7%), Spanish (3%), and Punjabi (2%).

Between 1988 and 1993, 388 students had been involved in the ESL program. All these students were tracked from their first day of attendance at the school until they left. The educational status of 232 of these students (those enrolled between 1989 and 1991) can be completely accounted for. The remaining 156 students are either still attending the school (i.e., 107 students from the intake groups of 1992 and 1993) or constituted the intake group of 1988 (49 students). The latter group could not be tracked for annual progress because of incomplete records in 1988. However, we were able to determine their high school graduation status in 1992 or 1993. This study was concerned with both achievement *and* progress, and the 1988 class cohort contributed significantly to our understanding of the phenomenon of achievement.

The students are a diverse group: from sophisticated, big-city Beirut to the camps of Bangkok; from talented academicians to illiterate refugees. They have arrived from 43 different countries and speak 29 different first languages. Certain students arrived as younger children and had already spent some years in their quest to learn English well enough to compete academically with their Canadian age peers. These students tended to be beginners on arrival. Those who were older on arrival represented enormous diversity in terms of first language proficiency, educational background, and proficiency in English.

The ESL program at the school serves the needs of approximately 115 students each year. It is based on the philosophy of proportional integration; that is, it aims to move students from beginner level (those who may need full-time ESL support) to advanced level (those who are integrated 75% of the time into the mainstream) within the three-year time allotment granted by Alberta Education. The express goal of the program is to prepare ESL students from the perspective of language proficiency and content knowledge for the demands of the mainstream academic program and thence toward high school graduation. The structure and sequencing of courses can be flexible to suit the

needs of the students. That is, students work through the program at their own pace, with the possibility of skipping courses along the way if they are seen to be ready and competent to accept the challenge of more difficult course work. Generally, however, from beginner to advanced level takes a full three years. In fact, few beginners are able to make the sort of progress required to move into the mainstream within three years, as our findings show.

Procedures

All ESL students who attended the school between 1988 and 1993 were tracked from the time they were first registered at the school until they withdrew. ESL funding lists and teachers' class lists from the years 1988-1993 readily facilitated the completion of this initial task. A summary of the numbers enrolled in the program appears in Table 1. The new intake figure as well as the total number of students in the program each year is displayed. This became an important piece of information.

Various factors thought to be predictive of academic success were identified and cross-tabulated to determine which of these would be most useful as a basis for tracking the ESL students' progress in school. Among these variables were gender, age on arrival, first language (L1) ability at entry, L1 educational status, country of origin, home language(s), number of languages spoken, educational gaps, immigration status, and English language proficiency at entry. Some of the variables had to be dropped because records were insufficiently complete for the group as a whole. In the end, three variables were discarded for logistical reasons. The number of languages spoken, the educational gap, and the immigration status were discarded because of inconsistent reporting or unreliability. We treated another variable, L1 educational status, as only moderately reliable. It was calculated from graded math tests given in L1 at entry to the school board and operated on the assumption that an ability in mathematics is indicative of some form of educational experience and status. From the remaining variables, English language proficiency on entry into the school emerged as the most powerful predictor of success, and thus it was used as the basis for tracking all students who received ESL support.

A class cohort profile based on language proficiency (beginner, intermediate, or advanced) was developed for each intake group for the years 1989-1993 (see Figure 1). This information was gleaned from student files and teachers' class lists. For a variety of reasons, including inaccessibility of ar-

Table 1

	<i>New Intake</i>	<i>Total Cohort</i>
1988	49	105
1989	55	92
1990	85	123
1991	92	137
1992	58	115
1993	49	85
Total	388	

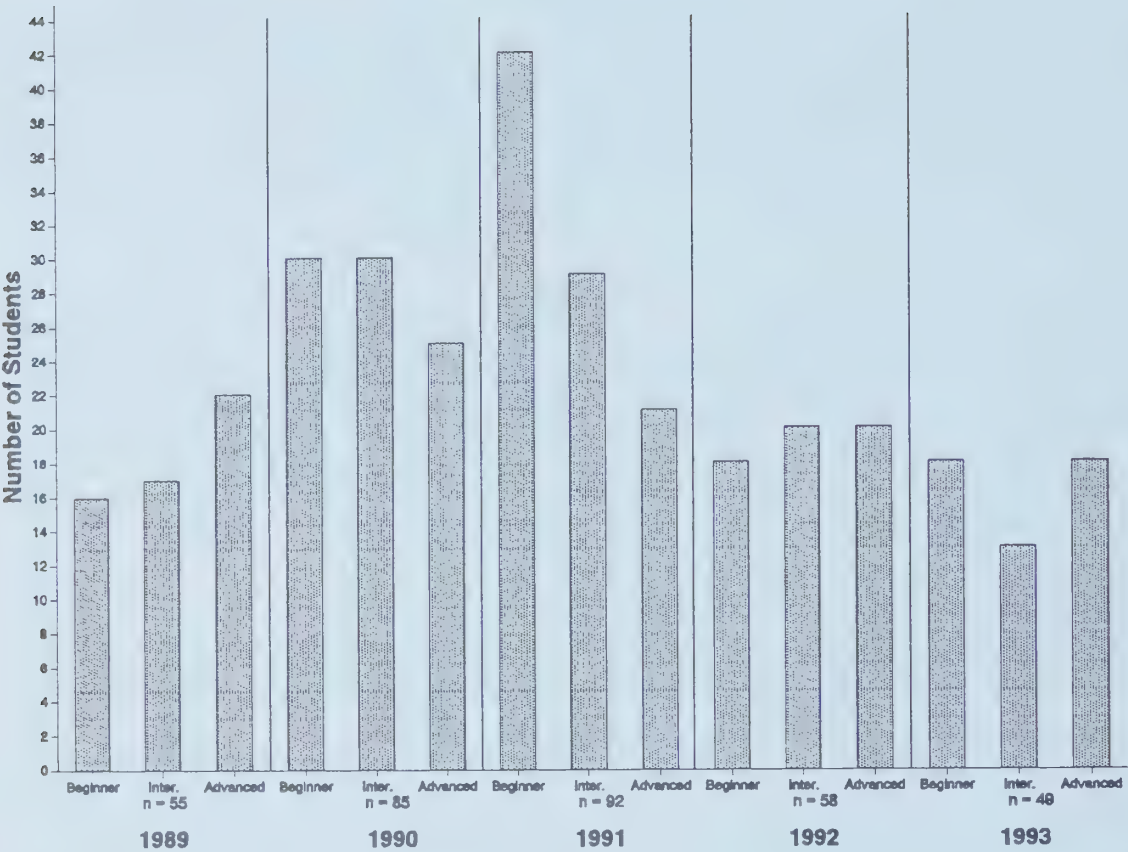


Figure 1. Intake groups: 1989, 1990, 1991, 1992, 1993.

chival material and computer dumping of class lists, we were only able to access this information as far back as 1989.

All the students who entered the high school system between 1989 and 1991 could be accounted for, and so this group of 232 students became the focus of the next phase of the study. Each of these students was tracked every September to note educational progress until we could no longer find him or her in the system. This was accomplished by accessing the students' computerized cumulative record through the use of the students' system identification number (students also have an Alberta Education identification number, and this number is important for tracking academic achievement among graduates). Computerized student records were then matched with individual student files in order to guarantee that we could account for every subject in our study rather than discarding individual cases for reasons of technical difficulty.

The changing shape of the class cohort profiles based on language proficiency (Figure 2) was noted for the 232 students (1989-1991).

The educational progress of the cohort is complicated by students who take varying amounts of time to complete a level. The actual tracking progression was described as follows. In September 1989 there were 16 *beginner* students in the intake group (students are not grouped by grade or age, but rather by language proficiency). By September 1990:

- eight had disappeared from the system,
- seven had advanced to intermediate level, and
- one student had moved forward into advanced level.

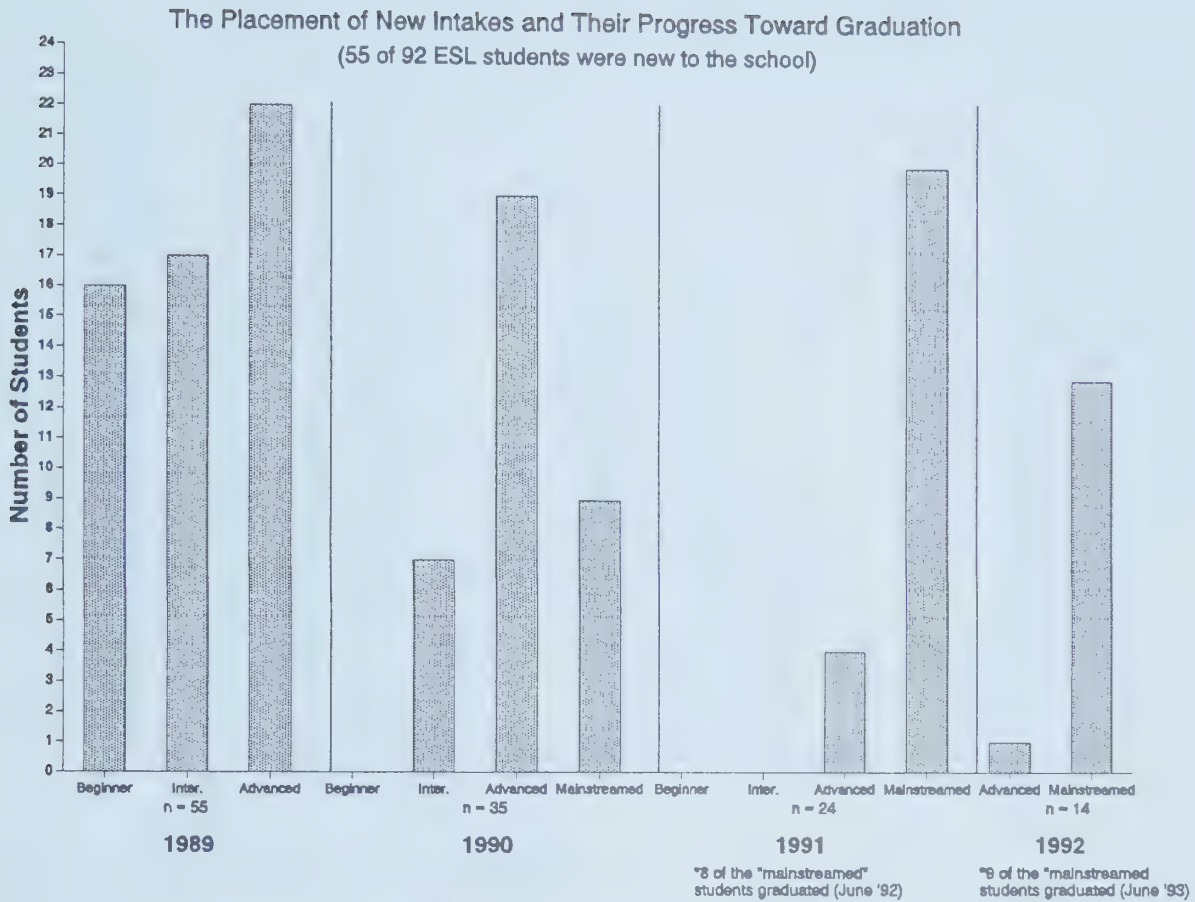


Figure 2. Class of '89.

Of these eight who remained, September 1991 revealed the following:

- four had disappeared from the system,
- three moved forward into advanced level, and
- one student had moved forward into the mainstream.

Looking once again in September 1992 we found:

- one had disappeared from the system,
- one remained in advanced level ESL, and
- two were in the mainstream.

Three of the original group of 16 now remained in the school. In September 1993, we found that:

- one student had dropped out of school;
- one student was still at the school but was far from graduating;
- *one student graduated in June 1993.*

We repeated this procedure for the intermediate and advanced groups of 1989 and again for all the students in the class cohorts of 1990 and 1991. All 232 students were accounted for.

Figures 3 and 4 display the progression of the class cohorts of 1990 and 1991.

Next we wanted to focus our attention on those students who had graduated from high school. We turned to the graduation lists of June 1992 and June 1993 to identify those ESL students who had successfully fulfilled Alberta high school graduation requirements. We then accessed the students' guidance files to see if we could identify the constellation of factors predictive of academic success among ESL students. There were 21 ESL students in the graduating

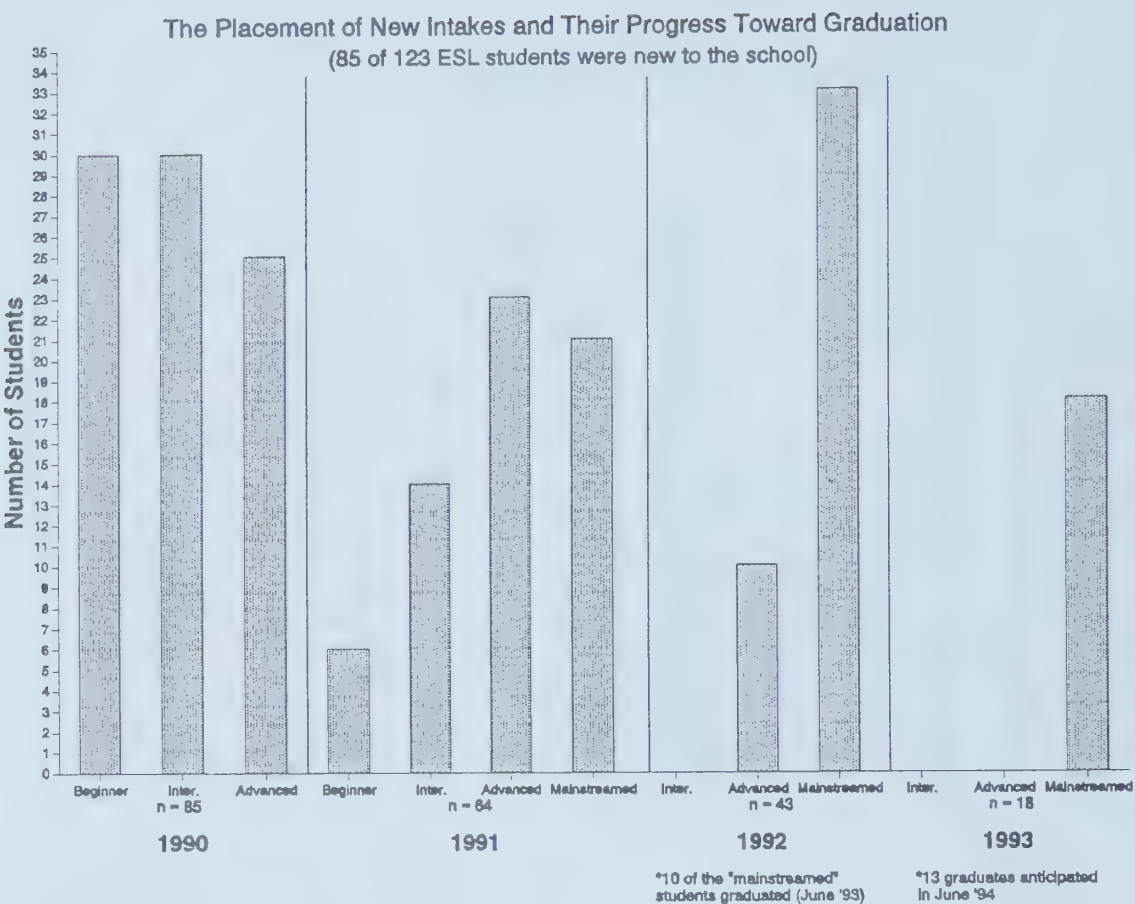


Figure 3. Class of '90.

class of 1992 and 23 in the class of 1993: a total of 44 graduates. Their complete student guidance files were studied in depth, where from rich background information the following variables were extracted.

- country of origin,
- first language proficiency,
- proficiency in English,
- educational achievement (L1 math ability, years of schooling),
- date and age on arrival,
- initial grade placement,
- cumulative student record,
- Departmental exam results (from Alberta Education),
- guidance counsellors' interview notes.

Findings

We discovered that the profile of successful diploma recipients was as mixed and confusing as Early's (1993) small study had suggested. Early in the study, however, the variable "English language proficiency at entry" emerged as the most likely predictor of success, hence the decision to track the class cohorts on this variable. In addition, we noted the following:

- 86% of the graduates were at the intermediate or advanced level on entry to high school,
- they took an average of 4.5 years to complete the three-year high school program,
- more than 50% were over the age of 20 at the time of graduation,

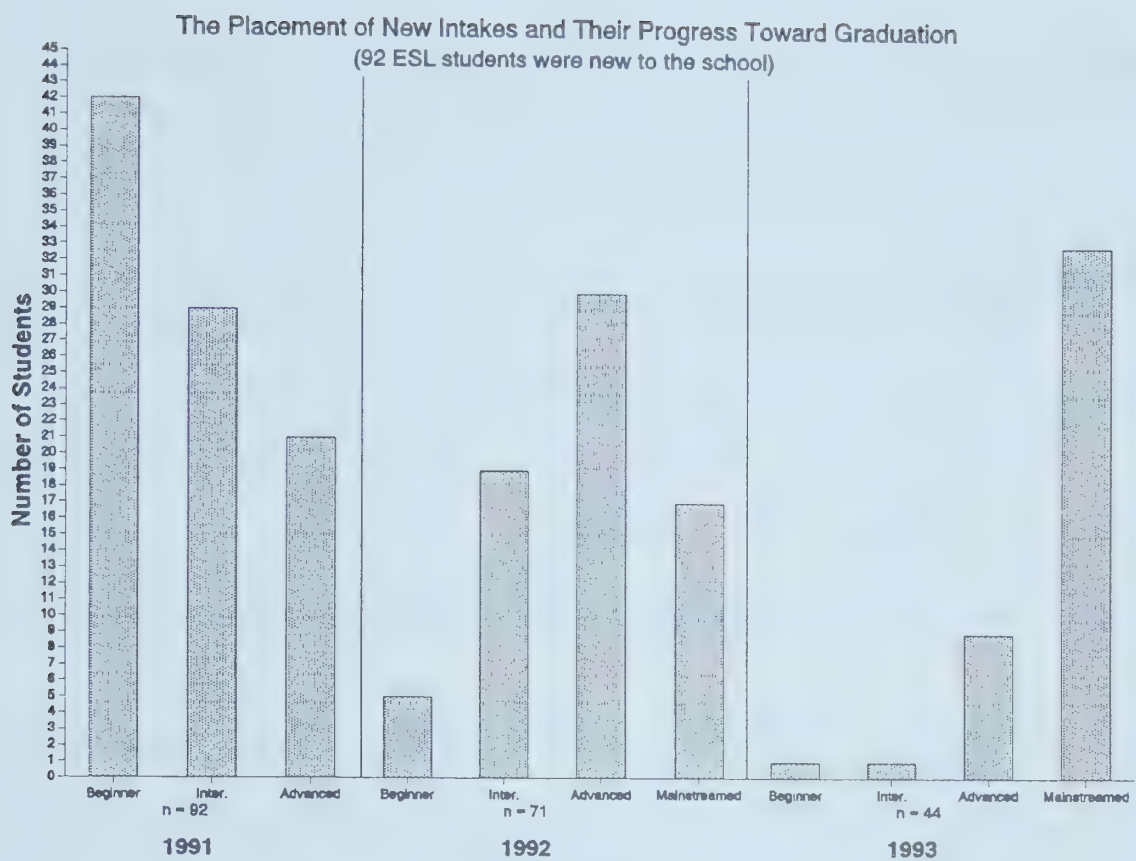


Figure 4. Class of '91.

- the number of years of support for the successful ESL graduates varied according to initial language ability. Beginners averaged four years of ESL support, intermediates required 2 years, and advanced students required only a year of direct support,
- success was directly related either to the number of years of support or the student's language and educational ability on entry into high school,
- about 90% of the graduates received a General Diploma, not Advanced. Among all graduates in the system, approximately 42% received a General Diploma, and 55% an Advanced Diploma.

Most striking was the finding that the overall dropout rate for the 232 ESL students was 74%, a figure substantially higher than that emanating from Alberta Education's study (1992) of ESL students. Further, the ESL students appeared to drop out of high school at twice to three times the rate of their Canadian counterparts in Alberta, earlier cited at 34%.

More striking still was the fact the ESL dropout rate itself varied dramatically according to the student's English language proficiency at entry to high school. Students who started high school with a beginner level of English proficiency suffered a 95.5% dropout rate. Those few exceptional students who started high school with an advanced ability in English had only a 50% chance of completing the high school diploma. Table 2 displays the numbers of beginners, intermediates, and advanced students from the class cohorts of 1989, 1990, and 1991 who graduated. From these figures we were able to develop a

Table 2
Developing a Formula for Calculating Academic Success for High School
ESL Students

	<i>Beginners</i>	<i>Intermediates</i>	<i>Advanced</i>	<i>Total</i>
1989	16 6.25%, 1 graduated	17 29%, 5 graduated	22 50%, 11 graduated	55
1990	30 0%, 0 graduated	30 30%, 9 graduated	25 56%, 14 graduated	85
1991	42 7.1%, 3 graduated	29 31%, 9 graduated	21 42%, 9 graduated	92
Total	88 4 graduated	76 23 graduated	68 34 graduated	232
Total Percentages	4.5% will graduate	30% will graduate	50% will graduate	26%

formula for calculating academic success for the ESL students in our study represented in Table 2.

To summarize, we found that 95.5% of the beginner level students dropped out prior to attaining a high school diploma; 70% of the students who started as intermediates also dropped out, and 50% of the ESL students who entered at an advanced level did not complete high school.

Perhaps the bleakest finding was discovered in tracking the ESL students as they progressed along the line of proportional integration from beginner to intermediate to advanced and into the mainstream. Here we discovered that 50% of the beginners would exit the educational system permanently sometime in the first year of registration of high school.

Our study also indicated a trend toward more beginners in each annual intake group and that some of these beginners now needed more time at the beginner level for reasons of limited first language literacy or previous lack of educational opportunity. We noted this trend beginning in the class cohort of 1990 and onward.

A recent reduction in ESL program support at the municipal level has led us to reexamine our data and predict even fewer high school ESL students among the graduating classes of the future: 94% of the graduates of 1992 and 1993 in our study either required more than three years of ESL support or were over the age of 19 in their grade 12 year. Table 3 summarizes the impact of a three-year funding cap or an age cap of 19 years of age for high school attendance on the academically successful ESL students.

Note that it is the younger-arriving students who require ESL support beyond the three-year cap. This finding is consistent with those of Collier (1987) and Olshtain (1990) who posited that first language proficiency is one of the factors predictive of academic success in the second language. Lack of cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) in L1 means that the acquisition of CALP in the second language will take time—if indeed the student ever acquires native-like age-appropriate proficiency in L2 (Cummins, 1986). Older-arriving students who were academically competent in their first language and

Table 3
The Impact of Imposing Funding and Age Caps on Academically Successful
ESL Students (1992 and 1993 high school graduates)

Before Age/Funding Caps		After Age/Funding Caps	
13	of the grads were younger-arriving in Canada (initial placement was in junior high or elementary)	13/13	of the younger-arriving students required more than 3 years ESL support
31	of the grads were older-arriving in Canada (initial placement was in senior high)	15/31	of the older-arriving students were over age for high school attendance
		1/31	required more than 3 years ESL support
44	Total number of grads in '92, '93 (26% of total ESL population)	15	students would now be eligible to graduate (6% of total ESL population)

who were proficient at the advanced level in English on their arrival are among those who graduated in the class of 1992 or 1993. But these students would not be able to beat the newly proposed academic time clock in Alberta.

Interpreting the Findings

The overall dropout figures can be interpreted in a finer way. After investigating individual student progress course by course, we came to realize that there were three distinct categories of dropouts, which related in part to the quality of school experience. We hypothesized the following categories to describe what we observed as patterns among those who dropped out.

Dropout. After students had achieved successful progress for at least one year, they quit the educational system. This “active decision” could occur either after entering the mainstream, or during the supported integration stage. A number of reasons for dropping out were documented in the students’ guidance files (those who participated in a withdrawal interview), but the most notable was the perception of impending failure and lack of interest and care on the part of their teachers.

Fall-out. These students are not “held in” by the educational system and they leave prior to any recordable progress. Generally, these students are at a beginner level and disappear from the school in the first or second semester. They tend to be students who have recently arrived and have limited L1 literacy and/or educational experience. Fall-out was not an active decision, as might be evidenced by participation in a withdrawal or exit interview with their guidance counsellor. Rather, it appeared to be the side effect of insufficient personal and educational support.

Push-out. Push-out refers to the removal of support services from students who still required them and/or were willing to continue with their successful progress, but for administrative reasons were either no longer identified or eligible. Once again, documentation in the students’ guidance files supported categorizing students in this manner. Typically, push-out involves one of three factors: an unsuccessful or premature transition from ESL support to unsupported mainstream classes; a fixed length of educational support regardless of

individual need; or the high school attendance age cap, which has been established according to the educational norms of students who speak English as their first language.

It is push-out and fall-out that need to be most urgently addressed, and we return to this topic below.

From the size and scope of our study we feel confident for two reasons that these findings can be generalized to other groups of high school-aged ESL students across Alberta. First, our informal discussion with colleagues in ESL across Alberta tend to support the findings here. Our study is being duplicated in Calgary, in the same catchment area, in the Catholic high school. Initial results of the study lend firm support to our findings. Second, our comparative calculations of Alberta Education's 61% ESL dropout rate and the 74% rate that we report show the rates to be essentially similar. Their study included ESL students in junior high school, whose dropout rate is more comparable to that of advanced ESL high school students. Once this is factored into the sample, the hypothetical dropout for the remainder of the high school group in their study must be about 70%. This estimated rate for ESL students in 1986-1987 is similar to our overall rate and is even closer to our 1989 ESL dropout rate, suggesting that the dropout rate is actually worsening slightly. Given the size, scope, detail, and relation of findings between the two studies, we believe the findings reflect an accurate portrait of ESL dropout for the province.

Implications and Recommendations

This baseline study allows us to offer suggestions regarding tracking, policy, and administrative considerations.

A tracking study is only as good as the information on which it is based. Dirty data, and "noise in the system," lack of agreed-on definitions, and methodological and procedural considerations all add to the confusion. This is especially true for ESL students. Tracking will become particularly important in the future because in all probability the numbers of ESL students will increase in the system. Yet increasingly, they are liable to become lost in the system due to program cuts, the effect of push-out, lack of articulation between junior and senior high, as well as the philosophical move toward inclusiveness. In our view, *identification of ESL students should be based on need*, and once this is identified, a mechanism should be put in place to track these students throughout their schooling experiences. It would appear that these students remain forever at risk in the system, and thus tracking and monitoring their progress is crucial in addressing the overall dropout problem in the system.

From a policy and administrative perspective, it is push-out that needs to be most urgently addressed. We need to recognize that the concept of an age cap in high school discriminates against ESL students in a way that was not intended. It may have been designed to address perceived educational issues related to first language English students, but it adversely affects the progress of ESL students who are successfully progressing toward a high school diploma. Forcing these students out of high school produces an administrative barrier that will effectively end their educational participation. We need to permit ESL students who are successfully progressing with their education to continue in the same institution. We also need to recognize that language ability does not develop at the same rate for all students. Therefore, continued

funding and educational support should be available for those who do not achieve the language proficiency needed to be successful in the first three years of involvement in the school system.

Various kinds of support need to be made available: the one-size-fits-all approach to program design is not the answer. The demographics of the ESL population are shifting, and we must become more sensitive to the needs of the new arrivals. Significant numbers have limited first language literacy, and our tracking indicates that these students are not progressing beyond the beginner level. Basic literacy development, perhaps with the help of first language aides may be an alternative. For more advanced students, sheltered programs and adjunct courses, tutoring, and resource help may all offer the support they need to bridge more successfully into the mainstream.

Future Research

This study has three major limitations that require further research. One is its exclusively quantitative nature. It cannot supply information about how the ESL students perceived their educational experiences, nor can it inform us as to the educational expectations of ESL high school students. This more qualitative information is vital to completing our understanding of the statistical trends outlined in this study. The second limitation is inherent in the definition of the sample used for the study. An accurate picture of ESL student progress would require tracking the broader category of language minority students, including those who integrated early in their Canadian educational experience. Finally, future research must address the issue of the educational achievement for ESL students who have graduated from high school. An investigation of performance on provincial departmental examinations and on their progress in postsecondary institutions will complete the picture.

Conclusion

This study leads to the conclusion that access to instruction in English is the key to academic success for speakers of English as a second language. This access is a right, not a privilege. Students who have this right are defined in the Alberta School Act as: "those whose first language is not English and whose knowledge of English is insufficient to permit them to succeed in school and society" (Alberta Education, 1989).

Educational success is a combination of both progress and achievement, and the ESL dropout is a sign of how urgently we need to act if we are to promote the educational success of the present generation of ESL students in Alberta high schools.

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Problems and Paradoxes in Beginning Teacher Support: Issues Concerning School Administrators

This article draws on information gathered in a qualitative research and development project focused on teacher induction and socialization in a school board in southwestern Ontario. I describe how principals, vice-principals, and department heads perceive and carry out their roles in relation to new teacher support and discuss several issues identified by them as problematic and paradoxical. In so doing I highlight some of the complexity associated with the administrator's role in school-based teacher development efforts and offer some suggestions for facilitating the resolution of some of the dilemmas they experience.

Cet article puise ses données à partir d'une recherche qualitative et d'un projet de développement qui visaient à étudier les processus d'induction et de socialisation des enseignant(e)s dans une commission scolaire située dans le coin sud-ouest de l'Ontario. Je décris de quelles façons les directeurs et les directrices d'écoles, les adjoints et les adjointes d'écoles, ainsi que les chefs de département perçoivent et jouent leur rôle respectif en ce qui concerne l'appui professionnel envers les nouveaux enseignants et les nouvelles enseignantes. Je discute également les aspects problématiques et paradoxales qu'ont identifiés les administrateurs et les administratrices scolaires. En ce faisant, je souligne la complexité du rôle de ceux-ci et de celles-ci vis-à-vis les efforts de développement professionnel pour les débutants et les débutantes à partir de l'école-même et j'offre des suggestions pour faciliter la résolution de quelques dilemmes qu'ils/elles éprouvent.

The nature of the person who goes into teaching is ... often that of someone who wants to help. And, as teachers and department heads, we have been helping students and colleagues. Then, we become a vice-principal or principal and that whole role changes. (Secondary School Principal)

Coming to terms with the dual role of supporter and evaluator of beginning teachers is one of the many challenges facing school administrators actively engaged in facilitating the development of beginning teachers. In this article I explore this and other such dilemmas school administrators struggle to resolve.

The data informing this writing are taken from information gathered in a qualitative research and development project focused on teacher induction and socialization in one school district in southwestern Ontario, Canada. This article reflects one project focus: the role of school administrators in the induction and support of beginning teachers. Other foci such as workplace relationships and school-based support programs are reported elsewhere (Cole, 1991a; 1991b; 1991c). In this article, I describe how principals, vice-principals, and department heads perceive and carry out their roles in relation to beginning

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teacher support and discuss several issues identified by them as problematic and paradoxical. In so doing, I highlight the inherent complexity of the administrator's role in school-based teacher development efforts. Illustrations drawn from practices of four school administrators in different contexts provide some examples of how problems and paradoxes associated with new teacher support might be addressed. In conclusion, I offer some ideas regarding beginning teacher support and development based on perspectives and practical examples presented in the study and on what is known from relevant literature.

Background and Perspectives Informing the Work

As part of recent teacher education reform efforts, the attention of major interest groups in the education community—school districts, faculties and schools of education, teachers' federations, and government—has focused on the induction or settling in period for new teachers. The impetus for attention to new teachers has arisen partly out of recognition by those directly involved in teaching that teaching is becoming increasingly demanding and complex, and that new teachers, if they are to remain in the field, require specialized assistance and support in their early years of teaching. Calls for attention to new teachers have also come from others in the education community specifically interested in reforming teacher education. From this perspective, induction is seen as the *key to reform* with salutary effects on preservice and inservice teacher education and development (e.g., Fullan & Connelly, 1987). For a variety of reasons it is widely recognized that, perhaps now more than ever before, there is a need for change in the kind of entry experiences most new teachers have. Attempts to facilitate new teacher development through formalized support or induction programs have been widespread throughout North America.

Throughout almost every province in Canada, the setting for this article, the induction of new teachers is part of the reform agenda. In Ontario, for example, a 1991 survey of induction practices revealed that 89% of 109 school boards had some form of centrally sponsored orientation and/or induction program in place, and that 43% of those districts had system-sponsored induction programs combining a series of workshop activities with a formalized or informal school-based mentoring or support program (Cole & Watson, 1991; 1993). Increasingly recognition exists in practice and in the literature of the importance of school-based support for beginning teachers.¹ Much of the literature advocating school-based support efforts identifies, and in some cases defines, the roles of school administrators in new teacher induction and development (e.g., Anders, Centofante, & Orr, 1990; Burden, 1989; Cole, 1991a, 1991b; Cole & Watson, 1991; Crain & Young, 1990; DuFour & Eaker, 1981; Hetlinger, 1986; Hunt, 1968; Hunt & Associates, 1968; Leithwood, 1990, 1992). Also apparent in most of this work is the lack of formalized attention to those roles. The research on which this article is based was conducted in response to needs identified in the literature for a better understanding of the roles and responsibilities of school administrators and by those directly involved in beginning teacher support efforts.

Information Sources, Method, and Presentation

As indicated above, the information on which this writing is based represents one primary area of focus of a larger research and development project focused on new teacher development. For reasons cited above plus a dramatic increase

in hiring, teacher induction became a priority for the school board in which this project was situated. From 1989-1992 I worked closely with central office and school personnel in two main capacities. As a consultant I was involved in facilitating the design and development of a centrally sponsored district-wide assistance and support program for new teachers that had a strong school-based component. Emphasis was also placed on the role of school administrators in facilitating school-based support. As a researcher I followed the progress of program development (Cole, 1991a, 1991c) and explored integrally related issues such as beginning teachers' perceptions and experiences of their first year of teaching (Cole, 1991a, 1991b; Cole, Squire, & Cathers, in press; Cole & Knowles, 1992) and workplace relationships and teacher development (Cole, 1991b).

The program development aspect of the project was based on a model of participatory planning (Bach & Morley, 1987); the research component was broadly qualitative. Various methods of information gathering were used depending on the nature and purposes of the subproject inquiries. Contextual information was gathered in some cases through participation in project activities, in other cases through observations at project sites and through the use of the methods of *vignettes* and *prestructured cases* (Miles, 1990). Perceptions and experiences of various project participants (beginning teachers, experienced teachers, administrators, and members of the project planning team) were elicited through individual interviews and/or small-group discussions. All field observations were documented and all interviews and discussions were taperecorded and transcribed.

Information forming the basis for this article was gathered in two ways for two different but closely related purposes. Four principals volunteered their schools as pilot sites for the development of school-based induction programs. Over the course of two years, three principals (one secondary school and two elementary school) and one elementary school vice-principal focused attention on the provision of new teacher support in their schools with the overall intent of developing guidelines for other schools and school administrators in the district. Their participation involved, in part, a series of between six and eight individual in-depth interviews that focused broadly on their involvement in facilitating new teacher support and on issues, needs, and concerns arising from their efforts. Six secondary school department heads were also involved in group discussions about their roles.

As part of the district-wide focus on defining and supporting school administrators' involvement in new teacher induction, and in an effort to derive a broader-based understanding of how school administrators perceive their role in facilitating new teacher development, 23 elementary and secondary school principals and vice-principals volunteered to participate in one of four focus group discussions. In each two-hour discussion the participants considered the following topics in relation to new teacher support: their past and current involvement; perceptions of their roles; beliefs about and attitudes toward teacher development and beginning teacher support; and issues, needs, and concerns to be addressed over the short and long term. Taken together, the in-depth interviews and group discussions provide both close-up and wide-angle perspectives on the role of school administrators in facilitating new teacher development.

Using a method of analysis associated with a qualitative tradition as described, for example, by Eisner (1991) and Merriam (1988), themes and patterns were identified within each broad topic area and subsequently explored in the context of relevant literature on teacher induction, teacher education and development, and school improvement. An overarching theme emerging from all the information provided by school administrators was the sometimes paradoxical, sometimes problematic nature of their roles with respect to supporting new teachers.

Following an overview of a rationale for new teacher support, I present a brief summary of how the school administrators conceptualize their roles and describe their responsibilities associated with beginning teachers. I then turn to an exploration and discussion of the issues that represent to them problems and paradoxes. I follow with examples of how some school administrators have addressed some of these problems and paradoxes and conclude with recommendations for ways in which the full potential of teacher induction as a vehicle for teacher education reform might be realized.

Why New Teacher Support?

It has been said that teaching is the only profession in which beginners are catapulted into complex and demanding situations with no organized support system, yet are expected to perform with the fine-tuned expertise of their experienced colleagues. Beginning teachers are generally high achievers, academically well prepared, and keen to provide their students with stimulating and perfectly planned lessons and learning experiences. For the most part, though, their only practical preparation for such a complex and demanding task has been during the practicum component of the preservice program—a short-term, part-time assignment carried out with the assistance and close direction of an experienced teacher or teachers in charge of the classroom or classrooms where preservice teachers are placed. And, as any new teacher will admit, teaching in the practicum situation and teaching in one's own classroom are entirely different experiences.

Unfortunately, new teachers are often confronted with the least desirable teaching assignments their new school can offer and frequently are expected to assume teaching responsibilities for which they are not qualified (as in the case of a teacher prepared to teach at the intermediate level being assigned a position in the junior elementary grades). Ill-equipped classrooms in locations isolated from their colleagues, split grades, diverse teaching assignments that require multiple lesson preparation, and responsibility to teach many particularly challenging students are but a few of the realities with which new teachers are expected to cope (Cole & McNay, 1988; Huling-Austin, 1989, 1990; Odell, 1989; Varah, Theune, & Parker, 1986).

In addition to the primary task of taking direction of their new classroom, beginning teachers are expected, at the same time, to absorb the details of curriculum guides and school procedures, volunteer for extracurricular duties, and establish themselves in a school and community environment that is likely to be totally unfamiliar to them (Burke & Heideman, 1985). Accustomed to success and eager to prove their worth, new teachers struggle to manage all that they and others lay before them.

Although eager to push themselves, beginning teachers are often overwhelmed by pressures from all directions. They are dismayed by the number of students whose learning needs demand individual attention and frustrated by those whose behavior disrupts the classroom, throwing their carefully prepared lessons off course. Support from their colleagues may be haphazard or even nonexistent (e.g., Bullough, 1989; Bullough, Knowles, & Crow, 1991; Cole & Knowles, 1992).

As Cochrane-Smith and Lytle (1991) and Rosenholtz (1989) point out, it is likely that beginning teachers unfortunate enough to encounter a school with a sink-or-swim attitude toward newcomers will develop a fear of revealing what they perceive to be their inadequacies. Chances are they will start to isolate themselves even further from their peers, avoiding staffroom contacts and secretly dreading the official visit of the school administrator whose job it is to evaluate their performance (Zeichner & Gore, 1990). Little wonder, then, that so many talented individuals abandon the turbulent waters of the teaching profession in search of a calmer and more sheltered professional existence elsewhere. Research conducted in the United States shows that an estimated 30% of beginning teachers leave the profession during their first two years (Schlechy & Vance, 1983). In Canada a recent national survey indicates that at least 10% of beginning teachers find the job is not what they expected and leave within the first three years of qualifying (King & Peart, 1992).

The beginning experience is not always traumatic or short-lived, however. For some new teachers, the first year is a period of professional growth rather than a test of endurance (e.g., Cole, 1991b). The journey of beginning teachers embarking on their careers is nowadays often smoothed by induction programs: planned and formalized systems of assistance and support that enable novices not just to survive but to prosper during their first few years of teaching. And it is becoming increasingly evident that the kind of assistance and support most meaningful to new teachers, and of most benefit to other teaching professionals, takes place within the school setting where the wider professional development potential of induction programs can be more fully realized.

A school-based approach to new teacher support, however, places additional responsibilities and expectations on school administrators and staff. Principals, as designated school leaders, have not traditionally been involved in the induction process (Zeichner & Gore, 1990). And, as Leithwood (1990) claims, they may have unclear images of teacher development and how they might best facilitate it. The principals, vice-principals, and secondary school department heads involved in the research presented here recognized the importance of facilitating new teachers' induction to teaching and were interested in better understanding their role in such efforts. I turn now to a presentation and discussion of how this group conceptualized their roles and responsibilities and characterized their involvement in facilitating new teacher development.

The School Administrator and New Teacher Support

The Principal

As a principal ... when you hire someone you have an interest in their development.... There is a responsibility there ... I am the educational leader of their

school, so I have a responsibility for their development. (Secondary School Principal)

As designated school leader, the principal has a key role in initiating work toward the establishment and maintenance of a climate in which teacher support is valued as an integral part of teaching and professional development. Yet, for a variety of reasons, principals may or may not be directly involved in the provision of day-to-day support for beginning teachers. For example, many principals have responsibilities to the school board and community that regularly take them away from the school. They are not always readily available to provide “emergency care” or encouragement when it is most needed. Also, their evaluative role sometimes makes it difficult to establish a nurturing, collegial relationship with beginning teachers (a point to which I return below).

Generally, principals might be involved in the provision of new teacher support in the following ways:

- working to raise awareness among the experienced staff of the importance of new teacher support;
- initiating, facilitating, and orchestrating induction activities (e.g., organizing orientation activities, arranging classroom observations, introducing or matching beginning teachers with experienced resource or support teachers, arranging for release time for special induction activities);
- arranging, where possible, timetables and class assignments with consideration to new teachers;
- discussing with new teachers the direction of the school and their own philosophy of education and leadership;
- lending emotional support and encouragement to new teachers;
- providing information and advice; and
- offering overall cohesion and coherence to school-based support efforts.

The principals in this study attached a high level of importance to their facilitative role. They also described themselves as: liaison, friend, supporter, resource, mentor, guide, cheerleader, injector of humor, one who puts things into perspective and in balance, and one who adds a touch of realism to idealistic expectations and goals. The role of evaluator is a thorny issue for most principals because of the contradiction it presents when placed alongside some of their other roles. This is one of the paradoxical issues discussed below.

The Vice-Principal

A vice-principal is there for support. When a new teacher comes [to you] and says, “Have you got a minute?” you get the coffee out, close the door, and cancel all your appointments because that is probably the most important time you’ll spend in the day. (Secondary School Vice-Principal)

[New teacher support] is the key to successful classroom teaching. It makes [new teachers] positive towards their job—if your job isn’t pleasant, are you going to work at it very hard? ... If we want commitment from our staff we have to show them there’s something worth committing to. [As an administrator] you’re there to provide support so ... they want to come back, they want to give more to it. It’s a small investment for a long-term pay-off. (Elementary School Vice-Principal)

Often it is the vice-principal who assumes primary responsibility for the provision of assistance and support to new teachers. Because for a variety of

reasons vice-principals usually have the most ongoing direct contact with new teachers, the roles of support lender and problem solver, formally or informally, have been added to their list of responsibilities. Vice-principals recognize the importance of this kind of responsibility and welcome opportunities to interact in myriad ways with beginning teachers. Designating teacher induction as a special responsibility not only reduces the chances of new teachers falling through the cracks but also gives an overall coherence and importance to teacher support and professional growth.

You get to know [the new teachers]. You have lots of communication—even if it's spontaneous, social kinds of communication. [You] check with them often, even if you're just going down the hall. And while you're doing that, you're trying to analyze all the time what their needs are, what are their wishes (as far as involvement [goes]). [You] make yourself available to them on an informal basis so that when they have questions they're comfortable about that. You need to be approachable so that they don't feel they're imposing on you. (Elementary School Vice-Principal)

A number of vice-principals in the group discussions were relatively new to administration. Being new themselves and struggling to find their way in a new position and school, they empathized with beginning teachers. They recalled their own early classroom experiences and indicated an eagerness to provide whatever help they could to newcomers.

I think we all remember our first year. I can't remember my second, third, or fourth years as well but ... I can still remember vividly some crucial days in my first year. That first year was really quite traumatic. (Elementary School Vice-Principal)

I remember what it was like ... when I came in [to teaching] ... in times which were much gentler than they are today. I know the problems that I experienced, and I had very little fall-back support. Times are much more difficult [now] for new teachers and they need all the help and support we can give them. (Elementary School Vice-Principal)

When I started [teaching] I quickly realized how isolating teaching can be.... You can be in your classroom, in the stockroom, [you can] go about your daily [practice] and not have much contact with others. It's really appreciated when a fellow staff member, vice-principal, or principal not only talks to you in the hall, but [now and again] pops into the classroom. I never did see it as a threat, I saw it as "Great! Here's someone to support me!" (Elementary School Vice-Principal)

The vice-principals repeatedly commented on the supportive nature of their role, how they regularly were called on to act as a buffer zone, and how often they tried to help beginning teachers put back into perspective issues and problems that had become distorted and overwhelming. In the kind of nurturing and support role that vice-principals saw themselves playing, the issue of evaluation also presented them with a dilemma. Like principals, they also have responsibilities related to teacher evaluation. And like principals, they experience a tension related to this role. Although this issue is discussed below, the following quote illustrates the point:

When you're talking to [new teachers], you're still viewed as the vice-principal and [an] authority-type figure (although you don't maybe view yourself that

way). You have to be sensitive to how they relate to you and be able to give them the feeling that they can come to you for help. [You don't want them to take what you say] as the definitive law or rule [of] the school. (Elementary School Vice-Principal)

The Department Head

In the secondary school, it is the department head who perhaps assumes the most critical role in terms of the actual delivery of, and direct involvement in, induction activities. This is due to the structure of the secondary school, the department head's responsibilities to facilitate professional growth, and because part of the department head's timetable is set aside for facilitative or coordinating responsibilities. A secondary school principal describes the role of the department head in this way:

The role of the department head is to make certain that the prescribed curriculum is understood by the teacher, is delivered by the teacher on schedule, and that the new teacher's work is coordinated with other people in the department.... So, although the department head's main responsibility would be to curriculum, I would expect [it] to go beyond this to [include supporting] the new teacher induction team [at the school level]. (Secondary School Principal)

Like many of the vice-principals, the department heads referred to their own early experiences to explain their interest in and commitment to new teacher support. For example, one explained her position as follows:

This is the first time I've had a new teacher in my department. Remembering my history [with other] boards, that I didn't get the support that I would like to have had ... I felt particularly keen on making myself available to [the new teacher].... I said to myself, "I don't want [what happened to me] to happen to her." ... It was really important that she know that I am available and I'm there to support her and help her whenever I can. (Secondary School Department Head)

Department heads in one school identified the following ways in which they were involved in new teacher support:

- creating a climate of support within the department, and encouraging attitudes and practices of helping and sharing;
- being available by telephone for after-hours support and for consultation over the summer before classes start;
- orienting new teachers to the school and department layout, policy, procedures, routines, and the like;
- offering daily, immediate support (often of a technical, detailed, or subject-specific nature);
- coordinating inter- or intradepartment work groups;
- providing coverage to allow teachers to visit other classrooms;
- coordinating schedules to allow time to meet regularly with new teachers;
- requesting that new teachers' classes be located close to those of helpful experienced colleagues; and
- making appropriate class assignments and, where possible, allocating a reduced workload.

Problems and Paradoxes

Despite an obvious interest in and commitment to new teacher support, school administrators have a number of concerns relating to teacher induction. Issues

that repeatedly emerged in our conversations reflect certain realities associated with new teacher support and appear to be ongoing sources of tension and concern for school administrators. The issues are paradoxical in nature in that they represent conflicts or contradictions. School administrators experience conflict associated with their role in new teacher support and with their relationships with new teachers as they struggle with the dual role of evaluator and support, strive to find an appropriate balance between facilitation and direction, and as they try to be respectful of teachers' work style preferences in light of their own. They struggle to provide facilitative work contexts for new teachers while maintaining their commitment to other more experienced teachers in the school. They are often frustrated by contradictions between new teachers' needs and capabilities and the needs and structures of the school and school system. And they are faced with the dilemma of being a primary support provider while receiving little or no assistance or support in that role. In this section, I present and discuss each of these problems and paradoxes in the context of relevant literature. Following this I give examples of how some administrators have addressed them.

Conflicts Associated with School Administrators' Roles and Relationships with New Teachers

Assistance versus Assessment

The comment made by the secondary school principal at the beginning of this article reflects one of the most challenging dilemmas facing school administrators: coming to terms with the dual role of supporter and evaluator of beginning teachers. Some administrators find it difficult to accept the reality and implications of being perceived as the supervisor or evaluator when they prefer to be seen in a helping role. One principal illustrates:

The assistance I thought I was providing the new teachers sometimes was not being picked up as that. They saw me as the person who was going to observe them to determine whether they will be given a permanent contract even though I thought I was working with them on a supportive level. (Secondary School Principal)

Related to this is the challenge of trying to be a helper and evaluator simultaneously. A vice-principal explains:

We have to see our new teachers [for evaluation purposes] twice before November 30th, and that's a really threatening situation for them.... It's really important that we don't come in just as administrators.... [Although] we're evaluating, we [also] are there for their growth. [It's important that they understand that] as teachers starting in, their first year will be full of opportunities for growth. (Elementary School Vice-Principal)

An elementary school principal sums up the reality of the situation in a single statement: "Once you are on the other side of the desk there is no denying it, you *are* the boss."

The assistance-assessment dilemma articulated by these administrators is well recognized in the literature. Induction programs based on an assistance model acknowledge the complexity of teaching and the individuality of the teacher. In these programs professional development is viewed as an ongoing process facilitated through self-assessment and reflective practice and with

attention to personal and professional support. Evaluation, other than self-assessment and constructive or formative feedback, is not part of this kind of induction process. (New teacher support in this school district and in most Canadian schools is based on an assistance model.)

Teachers who know they are being evaluated or who see their helper also as an evaluator are less likely to take risks, ask questions, or seek help. As Scriven (1988) maintains:

Without this separation [of assistance and assessment], it is unreasonable to expect teachers to go to formative advisors about their weaknesses. One might as well expect clients to seek advice from attorneys who are doubling as judges on the same case. (pp. 114-115)

Responsibilities associated with certification or contractual matters are typically assumed by those not directly involved in the provision of induction support and assistance, either mentor or support teachers (Neal, 1992; Odell, 1990) or in some cases university teacher educators (McEvoy & Morehead, 1987). Neal (1992) points out that the term *evaluator* or adjectives associated with that role are not typically used to characterize the functions of a mentor or support person. Terms such as *supporter*, *confidant*, *guide*, *advisor*, and *encourager*, which all assume the existence of a level of trust and safety, more often characterize the relationship between a novice and experienced teacher in a supportive role.

The problem for the principals and vice-principals in this study is that the evaluative role they must perform as part of their administrative responsibilities is at odds with the support role they wish to assume. They stand, according to how Neal (1992) distinguishes these roles, with one foot at either end of a continuum of teacher development activities. Goodlad (1984) argues that as much as they would like it to be otherwise, principals cannot be both an instructional leader and an evaluator. This is precisely the dilemma faced by this group of principals and vice-principals. And for them, and others like them, it is a dilemma for which there is no easy resolution.

Treading the Fine Line between Development and Intervention

The problem of judging when to intervene for the benefit of the new teacher, the students, and the school presents another challenge.

I'm always in a quandary about how to give the [new teachers] enough room to establish themselves and do the things they want to do, and not give them the feeling that I'm standing over top of them. I want to be able to guide them but I don't want it to be a "sink or swim" situation. It's difficult to always keep an eye on things and know when it is time to give a little assistance or advice and when to let [something] go a bit longer to see what happens. (Elementary School Vice-Principal)

This statement could be made by anyone in a facilitative role. It well captures the ongoing dilemma inherent in any experiential learning situation. In the beginning teacher development literature, the pressure-support tension is often articulated in relation to mentoring roles (Head, Reiman, & Thies-Sprinthall, 1992; Shulman & Colbert, 1987; Wildman, Magliaro, Niles, & Niles, 1992). This tension is exacerbated, however, when the person assuming a facilitative function also has wider accountability concerns. As this principal indicates,

there can be an urgency to a situation where immediate and direct intervention is required:

In a situation where the [beginning teacher] is really struggling, you have to get a plan of action in place fairly quickly because if something is not done then the students are suffering. How much they are suffering will determine how quickly you have to move. So, as a result of that type of role ... certainly the principal is not going to be seen as the friendly person who has come in to help out. (Secondary School Principal)

An elementary school principal further illustrates how difficult it is to walk the line between facilitating development through experience and using direct intervention:

[One beginning teacher] didn't want to take my advice. I would give her suggestions of pitfalls that were lying out there but she continued to follow on down the road and, as a result, after about two months in the job she was in a lot of trouble.... I found it extremely challenging and a major dilemma. (Elementary School Principal)

One elementary school vice-principal identified a role for the beginning teacher in addressing the issue. She reflects on the importance of communication between administrators and beginning teachers and on the role of beginning teachers in determining the nature and extent of the help and support they need:

The first year is a delicate year. You don't want to treat [the beginning teachers] like babies; they are professionals. Some of them want to learn from experience and not always have someone there to grab them before they fall flat on their face.... Sometimes it's hard to know when to let them alone and when to help. It's critical to set up an honest communication system so that they can help you [gauge that]. (Elementary School Vice-Principal)

According to this administrator, it is important to develop a relationship with beginning teachers based on mutual trust and respect. Given the hierarchical nature of the relationship between administrators and beginning teachers, and the especially vulnerable position in which beginning teachers are placed because of their probationary status, the development of such a relationship is another challenging and complex process.

The development of collegial relationships, both among teachers and between teachers and administrators, is as much of an organizational issue as an interpersonal one as the literature on school culture indicates (e.g., Heckman, 1987; Johnson, 1990; Little, 1990; Rosenholtz, 1989). The creation of a work context conducive to help seeking and risk taking is required so that beginning teachers feel sufficiently secure to be open and honest with their superiors. Principals (and other administrators) have an important role in the creation of such a context (Barth, 1990; Cole, 1991a, 1991b; Fullan, 1988; Fullan & Stiegelbauer, 1991). This vice-principal describes the challenge and goal of mutual acceptance and support:

We need to accept the fact that a new teacher, any teacher, is always learning. We need to both support one another and accept support. Once we can accept support we're more apt to give support. (Elementary School Vice-Principal)

Encouraging Help Seeking and Collaboration While Respecting Individualism

There are different types of new teachers. Some are very quiet and feel that by coming to you they are stating that they are having difficulty when they're not. You have to approach them and ask about specific things otherwise they won't say anything to you. Others are more vocal and will come right out and say that they are having problems. You have to know the personality types of the teachers and work with the different types [accordingly]. (Elementary School Vice-Principal)

Teachers come into the profession with different sensitivity levels. We really need to practice with our staff members what we ask them to do with our kids: lots of praise, positive reinforcement, encouragement, being there to listen, being honest. (Elementary School Vice-Principal)

Administrators recognize the need to be respectful of sensitivities and responsive to teachers' individual differences; to different personalities and working styles; to the teacher who prefers to work alone in the classroom; to the teacher who appears not to heed advice; and to the quiet or shy teacher. At the same time, they are mindful that beginning teachers may hesitate about asking for help or indicating that they need it, or that they may cover up problems or concerns feeling that to admit them would be to reveal inadequacies (Cole & Knowles, 1992; Neal, 1992). New teachers are even more likely to insulate themselves from their superiors (Zeichner & Tabachnick, 1985).

It is often the case as well that the most pressing problems are those for which beginning teachers are most hesitant to seek advice. A vice-principal comments on this issue with respect to classroom discipline, an area identified as a significant concern for beginning teachers (Cole et al., in press; Odell, 1989; Veenman, 1984):

Some new teachers ... may need more support than others but for all of them there's a point in the year when [discipline] is a problem. This is a stressful time [for new teachers].... But the big problem is that they feel they're being "marked down" if they send kids to the office. They feel that's in some way a failure on their part. [I] take a lot of time to say, "Look, we've all been through the first year. It's fine. That's what I'm here for. We'll help you in any way we can. (Secondary School Vice-Principal)

So school administrators are faced with the problem of how to communicate a climate of support and encourage beginning teachers to ask questions and seek help without appearing to criticize or interfere with certain preferred work styles and behavior. Similarly, they need to be careful not to discourage those who are more openly inquisitive and interested in engaging in collegial relationships.

Conflicts Associated with Responding to the Professional Development Needs of All Teaching Staff

Principals are mindful of their role as staff developers. Also aware of the special needs of new teachers, they struggle to attend appropriately to new teachers without jeopardizing the development and professional well-being of others in the school. They face a number of problems related to this dilemma, some structural and some attitudinal. For example, they are aware of the need to find ways to avoid overburdening experienced teachers with mentoring

responsibilities or with tasks that have not been assigned to new teachers in an attempt to lighten their workload. Even though they are aware that it is both within their authority and of benefit to beginning teachers to make structural modifications in class assignments, workload, and extracurricular responsibilities, they are also aware that such modifications may present problems for others on staff. Two principals express their predicament:

At whose expense can the new teacher be given a particular timetable [for example]? ... There are other teachers who need to have good experiences in the classroom as well.... Everyone needs support from first year to 97th. (Secondary School Principal)

Sometimes [by asking experienced teachers to help out] you feel you're putting more responsibility on those ... who already have a fair bit on their plate [but] you know that they have dealt with certain students and have a good handle on how best to work with them. (Elementary School Principal)

What often happens, the principals suggest, is that they end up assuming many of the added responsibilities in order to maintain a level of fairness. As one elementary principal remarked, "You can't force teachers to do anything, you can only set the tone and an example. You have to be careful not to wear out the older teachers and not to seem to show favoritism."

The principals also have to deal with attitudinal barriers to new teacher support put up by some teachers in their schools. Without appearing to show favoritism, they work hard at encouraging those resistant to helping and at instilling a spirit of collegiality. It is also difficult to work with those exhibiting the "I survived it" syndrome, those who see the first year of teaching as a rite of passage. This principal describes the sentiments of some experienced teachers toward induction activities:

[Now that] we have more people involved [in new teacher support] and more opportunities in the school year to talk about induction activities ... there is a degree of envy out there among some of the teachers who have more than eight years experience, who do not have positions of responsibility, and who do not know the facilities and resources of this system as well as do the new teachers. (Secondary School Principal)

Again, the administrators are faced with a dilemma embedded in issues of school culture. Although they can make the kind of structural provisions for new teachers suggested in the literature (Cole, 1990a; Cole et al., in press; Huling-Austin, 1989), unless they are able to overcome attitudinal barriers and are successful in fostering norms of collegiality, such well-intended actions may be misconstrued or even backfire. As Johnson (1990) observes, "Even when the schedule is right and time is sufficient, distrust, disrespect, and dissension can undermine collaboration" (p. 178). In contrast is the kind of work context described by Gherke (1987) where "a group of teachers, administrators, and support staff members in a school who have been helped themselves to such a degree and in such ways that they will see helping as an inherent part of their roles with newcomers and oldtimers" (p. 110). In this latter kind of environment, fairness and competition for favor and resources are non-issues.

*Contradictions Between New Teachers' Needs and Capabilities and the
Needs and Structures of the School and School System*
*Assisting and Supporting New Teachers Within the Bureaucratic
Structures of School Systems*

Related to the problems identified above of overcoming structural and attitudinal barriers within schools are similar problems reflective of the broader bureaucratic structure of school systems. The administrators in the study identified some major obstacles to providing more satisfying induction experiences for new teachers that they believe to be beyond their control and influence.

In order to provide opportunities for new teachers to become oriented to the school and classroom and to adequately prepare for their first assignment, and in order for class assignments and schedules to be made with new teachers in mind, hiring should take place sufficiently early. More often than not, vacancies and new appointments are made just prior to or even after the beginning of the school year. This presents obvious problems for both beginning teachers and school administrators because neither has any time to prepare. A secondary school principal expresses his frustration:

Somehow we have to find a way to provide these [new] teachers with a lightened workload so that things are more manageable for them.... [One new teacher at my school] inherited a horrendous timetable. By the time everything had trickled down and somebody finally said, "I have a position here," [that] position had a very difficult timetable.... If we could identify our new people in time so that we could provide them with a reasonable timetable, I think that would be beneficial for them. (Secondary School Principal)

Policies and practices of hiring new teachers mid-year and on temporary, limited contracts present administrators with additional problems. Also, they often are forced to assume a more directive and reactive, rather than supportive and facilitative, role with these beginning teachers.

Adequacy of financial resources to support induction activities is another issue. Recent budget cutbacks as a result of a recent economic recession have had an impact on options for new teacher support activities. With little money available for additional resources or release time to allow beginning teachers to engage in induction activities such as observing in other teachers' classrooms, administrators either have to assume the responsibility themselves or not provide such professional development opportunities. These are what Fullan and Stiegelbauer (1991) call classical organizational dilemmas associated with the middle management position of principals who are always trying to best serve both the teachers in their school and the senior administrators in central office.

New Teachers' Preparedness to Teach and the Needs of the School

Finally, new teachers' level of preparedness for the realities of the classroom is a concern that continues to plague administrators and new teachers alike. Administrators question both the initial selection practices by which prospective teachers are admitted to preservice programs, and the focus and content of the preparation programs themselves:

With a greater emphasis on academic preparation for colleges of education, we're missing the candidates who would be able to come into the classroom as

more rounded teachers. The [new teachers] have lots of energy and strong academic backgrounds but have a hard time interacting with the students and relating to those who experience academic difficulties. I would like to see the new teachers with more of a sense that they are working with young people than [that] they're teaching a subject. My concern is that so much of their preservice training is academic and so little of it is based on relationships. (Secondary School Principal)

These are not new concerns. They have been voiced repeatedly in teacher education reform literature across the country and beyond (e.g., Bowman, 1991; Fullan & Connelly, 1987; New Brunswick Commission on Excellence in Education, 1992; Tuinman & Brayne, 1988) and are currently at the heart of teacher education reform efforts in Ontario and elsewhere. Nevertheless, because reform is slow and incredibly complex, it will take time for efforts to be realized at the level of the school. In the meantime, school administrators continue to hire and work with teachers who need more guidance than they feel should be required.

It is also clear from their comments that these administrators recognize that the kind of change required must reflect the shared interest and responsibility of both faculties of education and schools:

We need closer contact with our faculties of education to make sure that people coming out have a more realistic picture of what teaching is all about. [Teaching] has changed in the last few years since we started. We need that kind of contact so that we're setting up [new teachers] for success, not failure. (Elementary School Vice-Principal)

Helping While Needing Help

It should come as no surprise that school administrators also feel the need for guidance and support as they assume and carry out responsibilities related to teacher development and school improvement. The following are some specific needs expressed by the school administrators in this study:

- receiving feedback from new teachers about the support offered them;
- having a clear idea of the school district's position and mandate regarding support for beginning teachers;
- participating in inservice professional development activities in specific areas (e.g., documenting teacher performance and assisting with professional growth plans); and
- having opportunities to meet with other administrators to discuss issues related to teacher induction.

These concerns are echoed and discussed in literature on the principalship. For example, Blumberg and Greenfield (1980), Fullan and Stiegelbauer (1991), and Sarason (1971) comment on the loneliness of the principal's role. Fullan and Stiegelbauer (1991) also point out that usually principals receive little assistance from central administration with respect to the implementation of new programs.

Often school administrators are victims of the kind of work conditions that they are striving to change for the teachers in their schools. And, like new teachers, they cover up or hesitate to share their fears and concerns, and have little chance but to sink or swim:

When we were new [vice-principals] it was not much different than it is for new teachers. Remember when we all got together that first time? "How's everything?" "Fine. No problems." And then, on the way home in the car, you thought, "Oh, if they only knew." (Elementary School Vice-Principal)

Toward Resolution

The paradoxical nature of the issues and concerns identified by the school administrators in this study reflect certain realities associated with new teacher support and development. An acknowledgment and discussion of the problems and concerns they identify serve to highlight the complex nature of teacher education and development and the need to find productive ways of engaging all partners in the process of teacher education reform. And although there are no easy or fast solutions to these persistent problems, focused attention on facilitating new teacher support in their respective contexts afforded four school administrators opportunities to better understand and deal with some of the complexities associated with facilitating beginning teacher development in the workplace. The four administrators involved in the pilot projects for the development of school-based support programs provide important insights into some of the issues.

Learning from Four School Administrators

The problems and paradoxes discussed above were issues for all four administrators; however, the extent of the concerns varied across contexts and individuals, and mostly lessened over time. School culture and leadership style were critical factors contributing to and/or helping to resolve most of the dilemmas, particularly those associated with evaluation, intervention, fairness, and sensitivity to individual differences. For these four administrators, facilitating new teacher support was (and is) integrally connected to the broader issue of school-wide professional development. Providing beginning teachers with a facilitative induction to teaching in all cases meant significant changes in the schools. In some cases the changes involved reallocation of space, time, and resources; in others changes represented challenges to traditional isolationist norms and patterns of professional interaction. This latter kind of change seems fundamental to the realization of the broad potential of teacher induction and to diminishing the problematic and paradoxical nature of school administrators' roles.

Three of the administrators explicitly addressed the tension created by the dual role of helper and evaluator. Two focused attention on reconceptualizing evaluation practices and their role in the process by placing emphasis on ongoing teacher-directed development and by increasing their amount of *informal* time spent in classrooms. Both administrators described the importance of their presence in the classroom being seen as *natural*. One indicated her belief that given time, opportunity, and appropriate emotional support, [all] teachers would feel freer to identify and attend to their own professional development needs. The third administrator, for whom the evaluator/support tension provided difficulties, chose to accept the evaluator role and shift primary responsibility for various kinds of ongoing support to others in the school "much better placed to assume a supportive role and respond to [beginning teachers'] needs."

Involving others in support roles often means a change in professional interaction patterns and norms. All four administrators stressed the importance of modeling and encouraging collegiality and working together. For some, this meant challenging well-established norms of individualism, a task defined by one as “like pulling teeth.” Building a culture of community in which people naturally work together, support one another, and share ideas and responsibilities is a major facilitator of beginning teacher development with significant benefits for all involved (Cole, 1991b). The four administrators involved in developing school-based support programs spent considerable time creating formal and informal opportunities for teachers (new and experienced) to work together.

For example, in one school classrooms were clustered according to grade level or subject area to afford better opportunities for teachers to work together and help one another. Also, opportunities for teachers to informally exchange ideas were provided at regularly arranged lunchtime and after-school conversation sessions. Holding staff meetings in different classrooms on a rotating basis and devoting time at those meetings to sharing information and ideas from any professional development activity or event in which a teacher might be involved are other ways administrators have tried to encourage more professional interaction.

Another principal whose efforts to “lessen isolationism” met with considerable initial resistance created “nonnegotiable” opportunities for teachers to observe in other classrooms within the school. Even though this meant that she had to cover the visiting teacher’s class, she believes that teachers need to experience the benefits of working with others and that it is her responsibility as principal to create opportunities for those benefits to be realized. Over time this principal came to define her role in relation to new teacher support as encouraging (new and experienced) teachers to work together and support one another rather than assuming full and direct responsibility for the provision of new teacher assistance and support herself (as she initially did).

One administrator gave an example of how efforts to encourage joint work among teachers unexpectedly paid off. At the request of some experienced teachers, a series of professional development activities initially arranged for beginning teachers in the school was expanded to include all staff interested in attending.

[Over the course of the sessions] one of our most experienced grade 1 teachers latched on to one of our beginning grade 1 teachers. When it came time [later on] to set out their goals for professional opportunities for growth [a district-sponsored individualized professional development plan], she chose the beginning teacher as her mentor! It was a shock to me although I didn’t let on. [When we talked about it], she said, “I just wanted to take advantage of all these new ideas fresh out of teachers’ college and the enthusiasm this person has to share.” (Elementary School Principal)

Those administrators working in schools not used to high levels of professional collegiality and collaborative work acknowledge that change in interaction patterns is slow to develop but worth continual encouragement. They see an emphasis on new teacher support as one important vehicle for such change. As one principal remarked, “There is greater awareness among other staff

people that we do have a greater responsibility to help new teachers get established.” This greater awareness and acceptance combined with a gradual increase in the number of new teachers who themselves have had supportive induction experiences contribute over the long term to a reorientation of professional workplace norms.

When helping, sharing, supporting, and working together become the accepted way of doing things, that is, the natural way for people to relate to and work with one another, many of the dilemmas identified by the school administrators in this study become non-issues.

Moving Ahead

I conclude with a summary of the dilemmas presented in this article and some suggestions that, if given further consideration, might move us closer toward resolution.

Conflicts associated with school administrators’ roles in new teacher support and their relationships with new teachers. Traditionally, teaching has been characterized by norms of isolation and evaluation. For a variety of reasons, many new (and not so new) teachers are reluctant to ask questions or seek advice about teaching; however, school administrators are increasingly encouraging more collegial and collaborative practices. Teachers are unlikely to sincerely and willingly respond to such encouragement unless:

- appropriate attention is paid to prevailing leadership norms and practices and established patterns of professional interaction both in schools and in the profession at large;
- efforts are made to rethink evaluation policies and practices at both school and district levels so that they are more holistic and growth-oriented and involve both teachers and administrators in a process of shared responsibility and decision making; and
- a focus is placed on building work and learning environments that encourage rather than dissuade risk taking.

Conflicts associated with responding to new teachers’ needs while maintaining commitment to all staff. As indicated above, many of the staff-related dilemmas associated with new teacher support are naturally resolved when workplace norms are reoriented toward helping, sharing, supporting, and working together. School administrators and teachers need to focus on:

- creating a context in which teacher support and development are a natural part of school practice so that new teacher support does not appear as an aberration and is not seen as creating additional responsibilities for teachers and administrators.

Contradictions associated with new teachers’ needs and capabilities and the needs and structures of the school and school system. The current bifurcated system of teacher education is based on a limited view of teacher education and development that lacks conceptual and practical continuity from preservice to inservice teacher education and development. It is set up to expect an unreasonably high level of sustained performance from even experienced teachers, and new teachers introduced to the system have the same high expectations thrust upon them. If dilemmas associated with administrators’ perceptions of new teachers’ lack of preparedness to teach are to be resolved, concerted effort is required by schools and faculties of education to:

- develop shared understandings and goals in relation to preservice and inservice teacher education; and to
- clarify the roles that each institution might appropriately assume at various points along a career-long continuum of teacher education and development.

The administrative and bureaucratic structures of school systems often militate against innovation or change. Such is the case with new teacher support and development. To overcome obstacles to teacher development created by the bureaucratic structure of school systems requires:

- a strengthening of relationships between schools and school board central offices;
- a more holistic vision of the roles of various institutions in ongoing professional development;
- the development of a set of mutual goals reflecting a commitment to teacher development and school improvement; and
- greater responsibility for decision making to be placed with teachers and school people.

The dilemma of being a primary support provider while receiving little or no assistance and support in that role. Attention to beginning teachers has been called the “key to reform” (e.g., Fullan & Connelly, 1987; Fullan & Stiegelbauer, 1991). There is little doubt that providing facilitative experiences for beginning teachers is a good thing. The administrators in this study, like many others, are committed to the idea of beginning teacher support and are actively involved in facilitating various induction opportunities. Yet many are frustrated by the dilemmas they face and the dim prospect of their resolution.

As school districts continue to move toward site-based management and as increased emphasis is placed on school-university partnerships, more and more responsibility for initial and ongoing teacher education is falling on the shoulders of school administrators. For the most part, administrators are expected to assume that responsibility with little or no guidance and support, and with minimal opportunity to acquire knowledge of the rationale for or long-term implications of such school-based initiatives. Because substantive change takes time and commitment, and commitment itself requires time to develop, school administrators as overburdened middle managers are able to do little more than try to implement policies and practices and struggle to resolve associated dilemmas.

Complex issues such as those identified here need to be addressed if substantive change is indeed to take place; however, without appropriate levels of support and involvement to allow such consideration, reform efforts such as those focusing on beginning teachers are likely to remain “just some more good ideas.”

Note

1. A plethora of literature supports the notion of school-based induction support. More specifically, rationale for this kind of support can be found in four areas of educational literature: work dealing generally with the principles and practices of teacher induction (e.g., Andrews, 1986, 1987; Brooks, 1987; Cole, 1990b; Cole & McNay, 1988; Griffin & Millies, 1987; Huling-Austin, 1990; Huling-Austin, Odell, Ishler, Kay, & Edelfelt, 1989); literature linking teacher development and school improvement (e.g., Fullan, 1985, 1991; Fullan & Stiegelbauer, 1991; Lieberman, 1986; Thiessen & Kilcher, 1991; Wideen & Andrews, 1987); work focused on

school context and culture (e.g., Cochrane-Smith & Lytle, 1991; Fullan, 1990; Fullan & Hargreaves, 1991; Heckman, 1987; Little, 1987; Rosenholtz, 1987, 1989; Sarason, 1982); and research on mentoring (e.g., Bey & Holmes, 1990, 1992; Kilcher, 1989; Little, 1990; Little & Nelson, 1990; Zimpher & Rieger, 1988).

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Contemporary Images of School Leadership in Ontario, the Northwest Territories, and Western Australia

This article reports three university-sponsored action research projects carried out during 1990-1992 in the Province of Ontario, the Northwest Territories, and Western Australia. The projects involved the development of multilevel, situationally sensitive profiles of contemporary school leadership practices by writing teams composed of 12 to 15 practicing school administrators and one or two university personnel. The outcome was three documents, each depicting in a graphical manner contemporary and regionally specific images of the principalship. Each profile portrays multidimensional images of practice, described behaviorally within developmental stages of growth leading to ideal practice as locally defined. Other outcomes include the opportunity to compare and contrast regional images of the principalship, the intrinsic value of the experience reported by the members of the writing teams, and several useful applications of the profiles as professional development resources at the provincial, district, and school site levels.

Cet article fait le reportage des trois projets de recherche-action dans la province de l'Ontario, dans les Territoires du Nord-Ouest, et dans l'Australie-Occidentale commandités par différentes universités. Dans le cadre de ces projets, on cherchait à poursuivre le développement de divers niveaux de profils délicats in situ de la pratique administrative scolaire contemporaine par des équipes d'écrivain(e)s composées de 12 à 15 administrateurs et administratrices scolaires pratiquant(e)s ainsi qu'un ou deux représentants du personnel universitaire. Le résultat se présentait sous la forme de trois documents distincts, chacun illustrant de manière graphique un portrait spécifique du principalat régional contemporain. Chaque profil démontre le portrait à plusieurs dimensions de la pratique administrative décrite comportementalement selon les stages développementales de croissance menant à la pratique idéale telle qu'identifiée localement. On peut inclure parmi les autres résultats issus des projets ceux: d'avoir l'opportunité à faire la comparaison et le contraste entre les images régionales du principalat; de la valeur intrinsèque à l'expérience de la rédaction des textes par les écrivain(e)s; et ceux des différentes applications possibles de ces profils comme ressource de développement professionnelle au niveau provincial, au sein des districts scolaires et sur place dans les écoles-mêmes.

Several persistent problems confound the efforts of those committed to the development of expert school leadership practices in Canada and Australia. One challenge has been the sheer number of available images of school leadership that have emerged from the literature in the last decade alone (Leithwood, Begley, & Cousins, 1990). As a result, consensus on what constitutes the nature of ideal school leadership and how it should be defined has been difficult to establish among academics and practitioners alike. A second problem derives from the dynamic nature of the school leadership role itself. When the scope of

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inquiry extends beyond the usual four- or five-year span of concern, it is apparent that expectations associated with the role of principal have been in a continual state of flux in response to a parade of situational influences and social trends. A third difficulty emerges from the rearview mirror perspective of most formal preparation programs and the questionable pedagogy and relevance of many university and field-based professional development projects. Finally, it is our observation that most formal preparation programs fail to accommodate divergent regional needs and the varying learning readiness levels evident among the participants in such programs. Can we reasonably expect the prescriptions for effective school leadership derived from American research to have equal relevance to school administration in Australia or the Canadian Arctic? What are the differences, if any, in the expectations associated with school leadership in these widely separated regions?

Our efforts to respond to these challenges led us to explore the development and use of situationally specific, multidimensional profiles of professional practice as a basis for fostering the development of expert school leadership practices. These contemporary profiles of school leadership are grounded in locally defined images of effectiveness as well as the findings of recent research in this field. As an outcome of these field development projects, leadership profiles are now being employed as a basis for designing preservice and inservice professional development programs in three relatively far-flung regions of the world; Western Australia, Ontario, and the Northwest Territories. Also, practitioners in these three regions now have an alternative to the traditional formal training program in the form of leadership profiles that can be used by individuals or small groups for self-directed and/or formative professional development.

All three of the regional profiles of effective school leadership share a common structure and development process. They take the form of two dimensional matrices that describe stages of professional action within selected dimensions of professional practice. The profiles were developed by writing teams made up of academics and practitioners working collaboratively in given regions in an action research mode. The choice of location for these projects was largely precipitated by our established presence as sponsors of formal preservice and inservice principal preparation programs in those regions. Despite the apparent diversity of the locations selected for the profile development projects, the school administrators of all three regions were found to be confronting a common challenge, the need to change their approaches to school leadership in response to a range of social and educational pressures. Of course, the specific nature of the social or educational pressures varied from region to region. The common thread, however, was the perception that traditional role orientations were no longer adequate for the demands of the job.

In addition to the utility of the documents themselves, and the value to the members of the writing teams of the time spent deliberating on professional practices, the development of these profiles has provided us with the unique opportunity to compare and contrast the images and dimensions of effective school leadership practices in three distinct regions. I begin this article with a

brief review of some generic problems associated with school leadership development. The discussion then turns to the conceptual underpinnings and procedures of the profile development process. I include a discussion of several issues and liabilities that have emerged from our work. This is followed by a description and comparison of the three profiles that have been developed and some discussion of how they are currently being used to promote effective school leadership.

What the Research Says: Alternate Conceptions of the Principal's Role

Existing research has conceptualized principal practices in a variety of ways; as unidimensional (Cuban, 1986) or multidimensional (Sergiovanni, 1984), in terms of typical practices (Kingdon, 1985) and effective practices (Larsen, 1987), or as actual versus preferred roles (Gousha, 1986). Other researchers have preferred to conceptualize the role by describing patterns of practice or leadership styles (Hall, Rutherford, Hord, & Huling, 1986 or Leithwood & Montgomery, 1986). More recently a cognitive perspective on the school leadership role has come into vogue that focuses on the internal and external influences on the principalship (Leithwood & Hallinger, 1993; Leithwood, Begley, & Cousins, 1992).¹

Except for the latter, these research conceptualizations of the principalship have tended to be descriptive or correlational. They have not been particularly informative on the intents of administrative actions or the underlying and motivating values of the actors. Often schools and principals may be described as effective without saying much about how they become effective. The focus has been on the empirical and technical, and the bulk of the literature has been blind to the more moral aspects of leadership, at least until recently.

From the perspective of many practitioners, such research is too abstract, too lacking in the relevance, utility, and cultural specificity that would provide useful guides to practice. Research findings may even promote artificial perceptions of uniformity among school organizations and false images of homogeneity within school leadership roles. Most prescriptions for expert school leadership simply do not ring true for administrators who must work in specific contexts. Yet we propose that these same research findings remain our best available resources when it comes time to train, develop, or promote school leadership practices. In effect we have the content, but we need a process that will build relevance and utility for individuals leading schools in particular settings.

The positive aspect of this situation is that principal preparation programs can now be grounded in more than just the context-bound practices, or theories-in-use (Argyris, 1982), manifested by local practitioners serving as instructors. This availability of research-derived knowledge on effective administrative practices has permitted the design and development of much better validated leadership programs for principals (Daresh & Playko, 1992). However, despite the increased rigor evident in research-driven program designs, several issues remain. Most relate to candidate perceived relevance as alluded to above. Among practitioners the relevance of research derived knowledge is largely assessed on the basis of how easily such information can be applied in specific contexts and translated into administrative action. In our experience several factors can influence the candidate perceived relevance of

leadership development programs. In the following section of this article several of these factors are identified and discussed.

School Leadership Development: Practical and Conceptual Issues

The design and implementation of formal training programs that meet the current and future needs of school leaders should involve considerably more than just mirroring the typical practices of the past. Effective programs will be those that address the knowledge, skills, and attitudes required by the leaders of future schools. Furthermore, such learning and skill acquisition must be achieved through a process or learning context that is responsive to several factors. An ideal learning environment will be sensitive to the varying levels of readiness manifested by school leadership candidates on entry into a formal preparation program. It will also recognize the particular needs of adult learners. Finally, the delivery of even an exemplary program will inevitably be complicated by the precedents and expectations established by previous leadership programs and even the potentially divergent orientations of instructional personnel and program sponsors.

Probably the first question to consider is which image of leadership one should adopt as an ideal. In Ontario, the Northwest Territories, and Western Australia virtually all principal preservice preparation programs now manifest varying degrees of commitment to the view of the principal's role usually described as instructional leadership.² It is possible to argue convincingly in support of more recently developed conceptions of the role, such as transformational leadership. However, given the mandated nature of the syllabus for most principal certification programs, and the natural time lag encountered when new knowledge impacts on established procedures, we initially concluded that instructional leadership remains the dominant image of school leadership. In execution, that proved not necessarily to be the case for at least two of the profiles that we developed. With the Northwest Territories Profile, the writing team was keen to incorporate in their document what they viewed as the highly attractive, minority group empowering vocabulary associated with the literature of transformational leadership (Burns, 1978; Leithwood, 1992). An earlier source, Miller and Sellar (1985), identifies the transformational orientation as one aimed at achieving personal integration and particularly social awareness. The strategies of the transformation orientation are those of creative thinking, invitational teaching, cooperative learning, guided imagery techniques, and whole language learning. A similar attraction to the concepts of transformational leadership was noted with the Ontario profile writing team, although they chose to avoid the term *transformational* as much as possible because of its perceived trendiness.

Given the array of educational experiences and skills required for the development of a comprehensive image of leadership effectiveness, it also seems important to take a longitudinal and developmental view of administrators' socialization experiences. Developmental principal profiles such as the three described here at least potentially could play an important role in supporting this theorized process of professional maturation; particularly at what van Gennep (1960) terms the transition and incorporation stages of development. We find van Gennep's three stage model of professional socialization (separation, transition, and incorporation) helpful in conceptualizing the develop-

mental process whereby individuals are influenced by several socializing factors (Ronkowski & Iannaccone, 1989). Van Gennep (1960) suggests a process of general professional maturation progressing from being defined by others to being self-defined. According to van Gennep, at the separation stage people are concerned with comparing themselves with others and how others judge their adequacy. At the transition stage the pattern of *self-location* is against the standards imposed by the functions of the job and task performance. At the incorporation stage individuals make comparisons between their former and present self (perceptions of progress made from a previous self toward becoming an instructional leader).

As any experienced staff developer can attest, semantic problems occur with the use of particular educational or academic jargon, more or less acceptable from region to region. From a more academic perspective, we know that anthropologists and sociolinguists regularly analyze language to derive insights into a culture's roles, norms, taboos, values, and world views (Spradley, 1979 cited in Marshall, 1992). More to the point, in our experience a particular emphasis on some dimension of practice in one region can easily alienate the audience from another region. For example, discussing *socialization* research with a group of practitioners in Australia may suggest mind control, a negative connotation, whereas with a Canadian audience, not a ripple would be noted. Similarly, in many regions of Canada the term *child-centered education* has recently become politically charged and is to be avoided at all costs. On the other hand, American practitioners seem much inclined to speak of *test scores* and improving a school's *grade point average*, terms that are not user-friendly in the Australian and Canadian interface. The point is that the development and use of research-driven but situationally sensitive profiles may prove helpful in addressing this issue. Thus a profile for an Australian audience might safely address the *pastoral* responsibilities of the principal without fear of confusing Canadian principals who likely would associate this term with crop management or animal husbandry.

A recent study on the socializing influences experienced by aspiring principals (Begley & Campbell-Evans, 1993) lends further support to the notion that developmental profiles may be useful to school leadership development. According to the findings of this study involving 87 aspiring principals in the Northwest Territories, more than half the aspirants apparently pursued principal training as a way of moving toward an existing image of the principal's role. More than 50% also cited skill development as motivating them to pursue training and nearly a third of the respondents sought training to broaden their professional perspective. The implication for those interested in promoting principal recruitment, or more to the point encouraging the professional development of individuals, is that the best strategy may be to emphasize the organizational *career ladder* and *skill development* aspects of principal training, and the general value and applicability of the training to presently held positions. This is consistent with Van Maanen's notion of *chains of socialization* (Feldman, 1989), which suggests that the process of organizational socialization consists of aspirants making only minor modifications in their behavior and attitudes from job setting to job setting.

A final word before we address the methodology of profile development. We wish to acknowledge the perspective of radical theorists, subjectivists, and the like. Our orientation to profile development has been, without apology, functionalist. To produce our profiles we employ a set of procedures derived from and founded on traditional curriculum gap analysis techniques (Leithwood & Montgomery, 1987), planned educational change theory (Fullan, 1991), and the procedures of school improvement (Huberman & Miles, 1984; Leithwood, Fullan, & Heald-Taylor, 1987). Thus our work reflects an interventionist orientation toward the practice of school leadership. On the other hand, we do acknowledge the contingent and dynamic nature of the school leadership role, as well as the multiple images of situationally and subjectively defined practice, hence our interest in multiple, regularly validated images of the role. Furthermore, the members of the writing team were for the most part practicing principals and therefore the primary stakeholders in the process of profiling their own practices. However, these are people who do not question their right or responsibility to exercise leadership in their schools. Finally, although these profiles reflect the findings and vocabulary of school improvement and principal effectiveness research, they are primarily grounded in the actual practices of keen and competent school leaders who are much valued as professionals in their own jurisdictions.

What is a Profile?

A profile is a two-dimensional matrix that describes developmental stages of growth in professional action in selected dimensions of professional practice. The creation of a profile begins with the establishment of a goal statement followed by a series of decisions about which categories of professional action are most relevant to the achievement of the desired state described in the profile goal statement. In a profile these categories are called dimensions. Each of these dimensions is also usually broken down into a set of subdimensions. To accomplish this, various facilitative and consensus building strategies are employed to blend research findings from the literature with local craft know-

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>Advocacy:</i> The principal develops a shared vision which supports the educational needs of students and the aspirations of their community. <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Community Values• Empowerment• Community Education Plan• Student and Staff Support | 3. <i>Instructional Leadership:</i> The principal initiates and directs a growth-oriented process to maximize learning outcomes for staff, students, and community. <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Planning• Development and Implementation• Evaluation |
| 2. <i>School Culture Management:</i> The principal creates and maintains a supportive school climate which is conducive to learning. <ul style="list-style-type: none">• School Environment• Decision Making• Language and Culture Promotion | 4. <i>Organizational Management:</i> The principal ensures the effective operation of the school. <ul style="list-style-type: none">• Finances• Facilities• Human Resources• Policies and Procedures• Time Management |

Figure 1. Key dimensions and subdimensions of principal practice (Northwest Territories).

The Principal as Visionary: Recognizing a broad range of environmental influences, is capable of perceiving a condition beyond that which is immediately apparent and of employing that view to provide focus and direction to the activity occurring within the principal's sphere of influence.

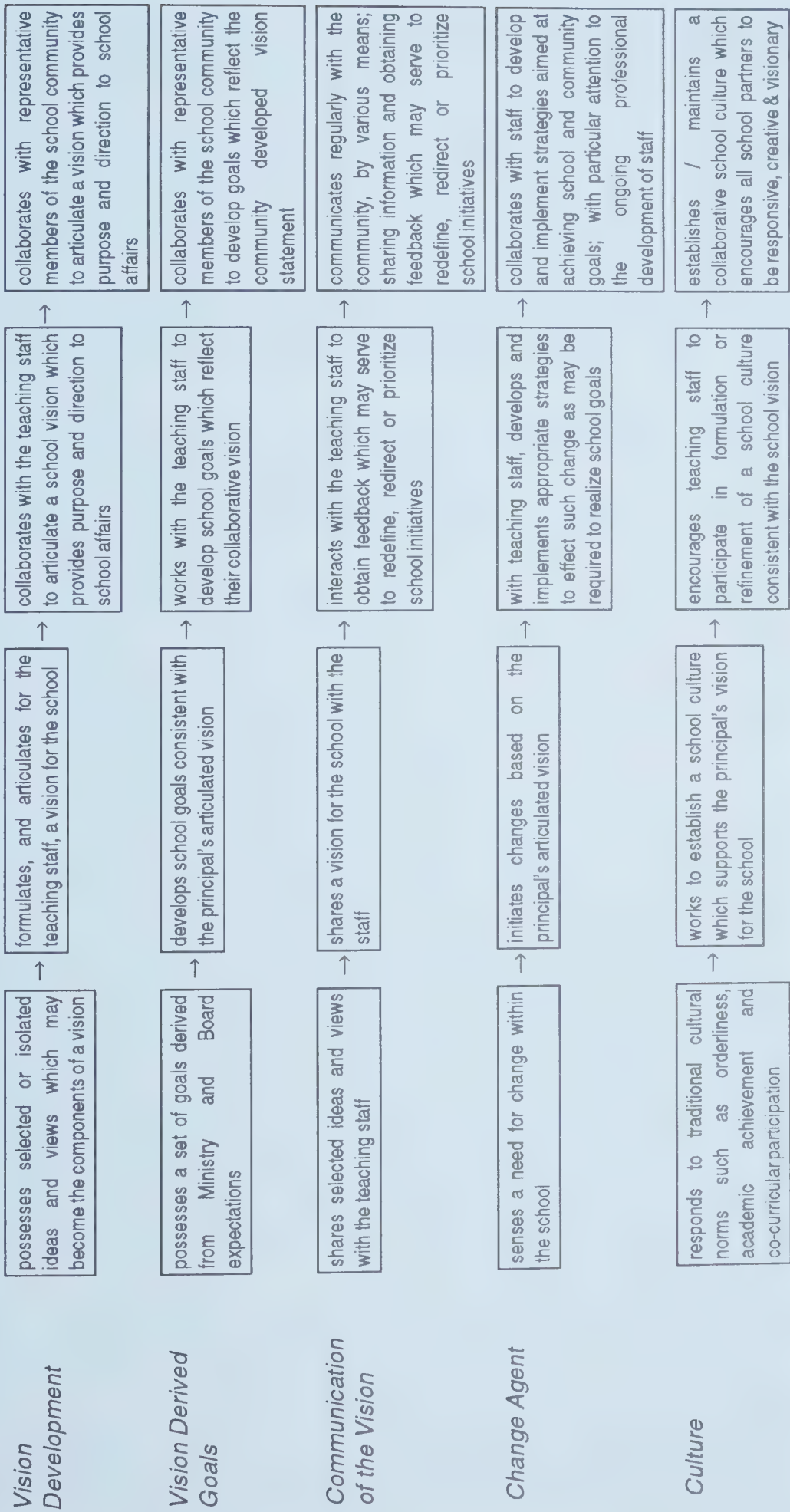


Figure 2. Alternate levels of practice from the Ontario principal profile dimension entitled *Principal as Visionary*.

ledge. For example, in the NWT Principal Profile, the writing team ultimately settled on four key dimensions of principal practice: Advocacy, School Culture Management, Instructional Leadership, and Organizational Management (Figure 1).

The next step in creating a profile is behaviorally describing, in each dimension or subdimension, the range of professional behavior that might be observed in the work setting. These alternate levels of professional practice are sequenced in dimensions of the profile according to their relative impact on attaining the desired outcomes identified in the profile goal statement. Figure 2, taken from the Ontario profile, illustrates this. The levels can be thought of as the stages of growth ranging from typical competent practice to highly exemplary or ideal practice. Profiles are generally not employed to describe incompetent practices.

Profiles are developed by a writing team of representative practitioners and academics who generate a series of draft documents. This approach is consistent with the tenets of action research that propose a mode of interpretive contextual inquiry for the purposes of understanding and describing events as lived, and for directly informing practice and its embedded and related theories (Cole & Knowles, 1993). Draft versions of the profiles produced by these writing teams typically undergo an extensive field validation process before a final version of the document is released for use. Developing each of the profiles described in this article typically required 30 to 40 hours of intensive collaborative group work by the actual writing team, plus many additional days of work by a subset of the team in editing and validating the various drafts. Full validation of the final drafts has typically required at least one academic year. In our view, principals' role profiles have a relatively short shelf life because of the rapid rate of change associated with school leadership practices. They should probably be reviewed and revalidated within five years.

The original and probably best known principal profile was produced in 1983-1984 by Leithwood and Montgomery (1986). This was a rigorous application of the innovation profiling technique, essentially a curriculum analysis procedure, to a role description task (Leithwood & Montgomery, 1987). This profile was based on an exhaustive review of existing research on effective schools and instructional leadership practices. Following usual academic protocol, field validation with a large sample of practitioners occurred after the literature review. We reversed this procedure in developing our three profiles to the extent that we employed personal inventory surveys and consensus building activities with the writing teams before introducing and reviewing research findings. This reflects our more subjective philosophical orientations, as well as our desire to ensure a high degree of local relevance in terms of vocabulary and image definition.

Two attributes were common to all three of the profiling projects reported in this article; the time frame and the methodology employed. All three profiles were produced during 1990-1992 with myself acting as group facilitator for all three writing teams. Second, except as noted above, the procedure used to produce these developmental images of the principalship was based on an innovation profile development process proposed by Leithwood and Montgomery (1987). Applied as a role analysis procedure, this process

produces multidimensional images of practice described behaviorally in developmental stages of growth leading from typical competent practice to an image of ideal practice.

Using Principal Profiles:

Role profiles can be used for a variety of purposes. In addition to their obvious utility as a research-driven, field-validated conceptual framework from which to design and develop preservice and inservice programs, they can also be used for a number of less formal but highly desirable professional development purposes. School principals, working alone or with one or more partners, can use principal profiles as a resource to monitor and support their continued professional growth as school leaders in their jurisdictions. This may occur in several specific ways:

1. A profile may help to focus the principal's goals on the needs of students.
2. A profile may identify relevant criteria and standards of practice for self-evaluation, mentoring, or coaching purposes.
3. A profile integrates the findings of recent research on principal effectiveness and local craft knowledge in detailed and situationally relevant descriptions of principal action.
4. A profile may help individuals analyze the amount of change required in their professional practices into incremental steps leading toward some ideal image of the role.
5. A profile may help principals to identify, emphasize, and justify, or conversely to challenge, particular managerial and leadership practices identified by research and their colleagues as desirable.
6. A profile may provide a framework for predicting the obstacles that may be encountered by principals as they implement changes in their practices.
7. A profile may provide a basis for identifying school and regional differences that justify variations in an individual principal's practices.

All three profiles have now been published³ as professional development resource documents and have been broadly distributed in their regions. They are primarily being used by individuals for personal professional development or adopted by school districts as an espoused image of effective school leadership practice. However, as alluded to above, the profiles are also being used for more formal purposes. As of 1992, the NWT Principal Profile has been adopted as the conceptual framework for developing the annually delivered and legislatively mandated principal preparation program, replacing Leithwood and Montgomery's (1986) profile of the principalship. As of 1993 the same has occurred in Ontario for all principal certification courses sponsored by the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. In Western Australia the Primary Principals' Association has broadly inserviced their WA Principal Profile. In both Ontario and Western Australia the profiles have also influenced the design and development of professional development experiences sponsored at both the university and school district level.

Some Liabilities Relating to Profile Use

We can identify a number of potential liabilities resulting from the use of profiles. Although we believe that ultimate responsibility for appropriate and ethical use of such resources will lie with the user, this does not eliminate our

responsibility to consider and identify potential liabilities. We can readily identify these six limitations to profile use:

1. Profiles are expensive to produce in terms of the time and resources needed. Not all jurisdictions can afford to produce such labor intensive resource documents. This may raise an equity issue. In an era of fiscal restraint, some groups may devote less energy to field-validation than would be considered ideal, or employ something less than a representative group as a writing team.
2. Once a profile has been produced, it needs to be properly implemented. Project sponsors should avoid expectations for a quick fix in terms of increased principal effectiveness. The writing team members must also have credibility with the potential users of the profile; otherwise implementation efforts will fail. Finally, a profile should be attractively laid out in order to invite use by busy school administrators who already must process a lot of paper.
3. Most profiles are quite linear and sequential in their portrayal of a role. They are also more often than not complex documents. This may offend individuals who are more intuitive in their orientations. Moreover, a profile is in many respects a caricature of professional practice, emphasizing some dimensions and not others. Some individuals whose professional practices are not reflected in the dimensions and developmental stages may become alienated. Nobody likes to be perceived as incompetent or out of step professionally.
4. Some educators are strongly inclined to be innovation focused. They may mistakenly view the profile as an *end* in itself rather than a *means* to an end. Dogmatic adherence to a fixed role image is not a desirable outcome of profile development. The nature of the principalship is in continual flux and this dynamism in response to social and environmental influence will likely continue.
5. There is a very real potential for the misuse of principal profiles as a tool of summative evaluation. Most principals involved in the validation of our profiles have been quick to point this out. In our view this is not an appropriate use for profiles. Informal and formative or growth-oriented performance appraisal applications may be acceptable. However, there are simply too many personal and contextual variables that cannot be accounted for to allow the use of profiles for summative evaluation purposes. We acknowledge that there are those who do not agree with us.
6. Profiles must be reviewed and updated from time to time. Changing role requirements, new research findings, a continually evolving image of what it is to be an educated person are all factors that conspire to give profiles a relatively short shelf life; probably five years or less. They ought to be reviewed and renewed on a cyclical basis just like school curriculum.

The Three Profiles

In this section the results of the profiling projects, three separate regional profiles of the principalship, are described. The profiles were produced by writing teams in the Northwest Territories (NWT), Ontario, and Western Australia.

The NWT Principal Profile: Instructional Leadership and Community Facilitation

The majority of schools in the Northwest Territories (a vast region of the Canadian Arctic located north of the 60th parallel) are situated in small, isolated communities. The population of the Northwest Territories (NWT) is predominantly indigenous (Inuit, Dene, and Métis) except in Yellowknife, the capital. Despite these unique features of context, a needs assessment process conducted by the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education for the NWT Department of Education in 1987 identified instructional leadership, a popular conception of school leadership in Canada and the USA, as equally relevant to school administration in Arctic Canada. This was perhaps not as surprising as we might have been inclined to think at the time—all but a few of the incumbent school principals were non-Native, much of the formal school curriculum has been adopted from the southern regions of Canada, and most of the teachers employed in the north acquire their professional training at colleges in the south.

Since 1987, however, academics and practitioners associated with the NWT legislated principal certification program have increasingly recognized the shortcomings of instructional leadership as an image of ideal practice on which to base their program. It may be an appropriate role image for large, white-dominated communities such as Yellowknife, but it has clearly failed to address important expectations for the role in small, isolated communities. Other factors of concern were the persistently high turnover rates for principals and the continuing low levels of recruitment to the principalship from among Aboriginal educators.

The publication in 1991 by the NWT Department of Education of a new document entitled *Our Students, Our Future: A Planning Framework* produced the final impetus necessary for launching a project to develop an updated profile of the school leadership role in the NWT. This document identifies three areas of responsibility for principals in the NWT, at least one of which extends beyond the normal scope of instructional leadership. The first two, responsibility for instructional programs and creating a supportive learning environment were familiar enough. However, the third, provision of services that facilitate students' physical and cognitive preparedness for learning, implies for the NWT school administrator a broader, more community-wide scope of concern.

The profiling project was sponsored by the NWT department of Education and the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. A writing team was organized, composed of four practicing school principals, three district administrators, three Department personnel, one OISE faculty, and an OISE research officer. They met for four consecutive days to produce the first draft of the profile in May 1992. Two of the team members were Aboriginal practitioners and four were female educators. Early on in the process they established their goal for the NWT Principal Profile "to identify key dimensions of practice through which principals meet the needs of individual students, improve the quality of teaching and learning, and support the aspirations of the community." Without abandoning the now familiar core dimensions of instructional leadership (collaborative goal-setting, direct participation, monitoring, and a concern for student outcomes), the team produced a more situationally

sensitive image of the role that reflects the cultural base of the Northwest Territories.

Several new dimensions or subdimensions of the principal's role were proposed including "consensual team building," "inter-agency community partnerships," and "community facilitation." However, the four key dimensions of principal action that emerged in the final version of the profile were advocacy, school culture management, instructional leadership, and organizational management. Final validation of the interim profile was carried out during 1993 and it was published as a resource document in June 1993.

The Ontario Profile: Visionary Principals and Problem Solving Processes

Several factors combined to produce a school leadership profiling initiative in Ontario. One important motivation was the Ontario Ministry of Education. During 1990 the Principals' Course Advisory Committee of the Ontario Ministry of Education articulated a need to review and update the core objectives for its certification program. The existing core objectives had been developed in 1984 and focused primarily on the curriculum management role of the principal. By 1990 it had become increasingly apparent that other important expectations for the role were not being addressed by the mandated principal certification program. Several new notions needed to be incorporated such as transformational leadership, collaborative school cultures, and community empowerment.

During the same time frame, the senior administrators of a school district located in southwestern Ontario expressed to OISE faculty an interest in examining the links between the principal's role in district level strategic planning and school-based improvement projects. They had committed a considerable amount of district energy toward a top-down strategic planning initiative that produced detailed objectives for school improvement. Unfortunately, the links between the district plans and what individual principals were expected to do in schools to support these plans was less than clear. It was hypothesized that a regional principal profile might help bridge this gap in the planning process.

A final source of energy for the Ontario Profile initiative came from a third school district, in this case a publicly funded Roman Catholic school system. Much like the Western Australian principals discussed below, these Ontario principals expressed a desire to use the innovation profile procedure as a needs assessment process before developing inservice programs that would link district priorities and initiatives to their personal professional development plans.

A writing team of 15 individuals was established with representation from five school districts. A faculty member from OISE, aided by a research officer, acted as coordinators and facilitators for the process. Seven members of this writing team were female. They met for a total of six days spread across several months in early 1992. The team identified as their profiling goal "the identification of the key dimensions of professional practice for principals committed to improving the quality of education." After several days of deliberation, five key dimensions were selected to describe the principalship in Southwestern Ontario. These are: the principal as visionary, the principal as problem solver,

the principal as instructional leader/program facilitator, the principal as school community facilitator, and the principal as manager.

A Principal's Profile (Western Australia, 1990)

Recent changes in the Western Australian education system resulting from the release and implementation of a state policy document entitled *Better Schools in Western Australia: A Programme for Improvement* (Ministry of Education in Western Australia, 1987), induced significant changes in the nature of the Western Australian primary principalship. Principals were now required to play a much expanded leadership role in their school communities compared with the past—augmenting traditional management functions with relatively new expectations for instructional leadership. Partially in response to these pressures, a project was launched to produce a profile of the primary principalship in Western Australia (WA). This profile, developed in 1990, was the first of the series of three principals profiles that we developed. The resulting document was primarily intended to be used by incumbent principals as a resource to promote their own self-development and empowerment. This is in contrast to the agenda common to the Northwest Territories and Ontario projects aimed at producing profiles to support the development of formal professional development programs.

The WA Principal's Profile was developed by a writing team made up of principals from the Ministry of Education and the Catholic education system. As is the case for the other two profiles developed later, its development was largely based on the collective experiences of the writing team as well as a literature review of key Ministry and research documents. The stated objective of the profile was, "to demonstrate collaborative leadership that will optimize the education of each member of the school community." As is the case for the other profiles, it was not intended as a deficit model that describes the shortcomings of a failing principal. The user of the profile is assumed to be performing at a level considered at least satisfactory.

The WA Principal's Profile identifies three key dimensions: self, which describes the personal qualities of successful principals; processes, which describe gradations of successful use of processes; and outcomes, which describe the goals of the successful principal's actions.

Discussion and Outcomes of the Profiling Projects

In this section I compare the three profiles and discuss the outcomes and applications that have resulted from the projects.

The profile dimensions. When the three profiles are compared it becomes evident that all share a common core of three key dimensions (see Figure 3). With semantic differences, all three profiles have in common descriptors of effective practice relating to school culture management, instructional leadership, and organizational management. In some ways this is a remarkable outcome given the far-flung distances and variations in culture involved. It suggests that there are important similarities in the Australian and Canadian principalships. In both countries principals apparently see their contemporary roles as extending much beyond traditional building management to include instructional and cultural leadership responsibilities. On the other hand, given that all three profile teams reviewed the same school improvement research

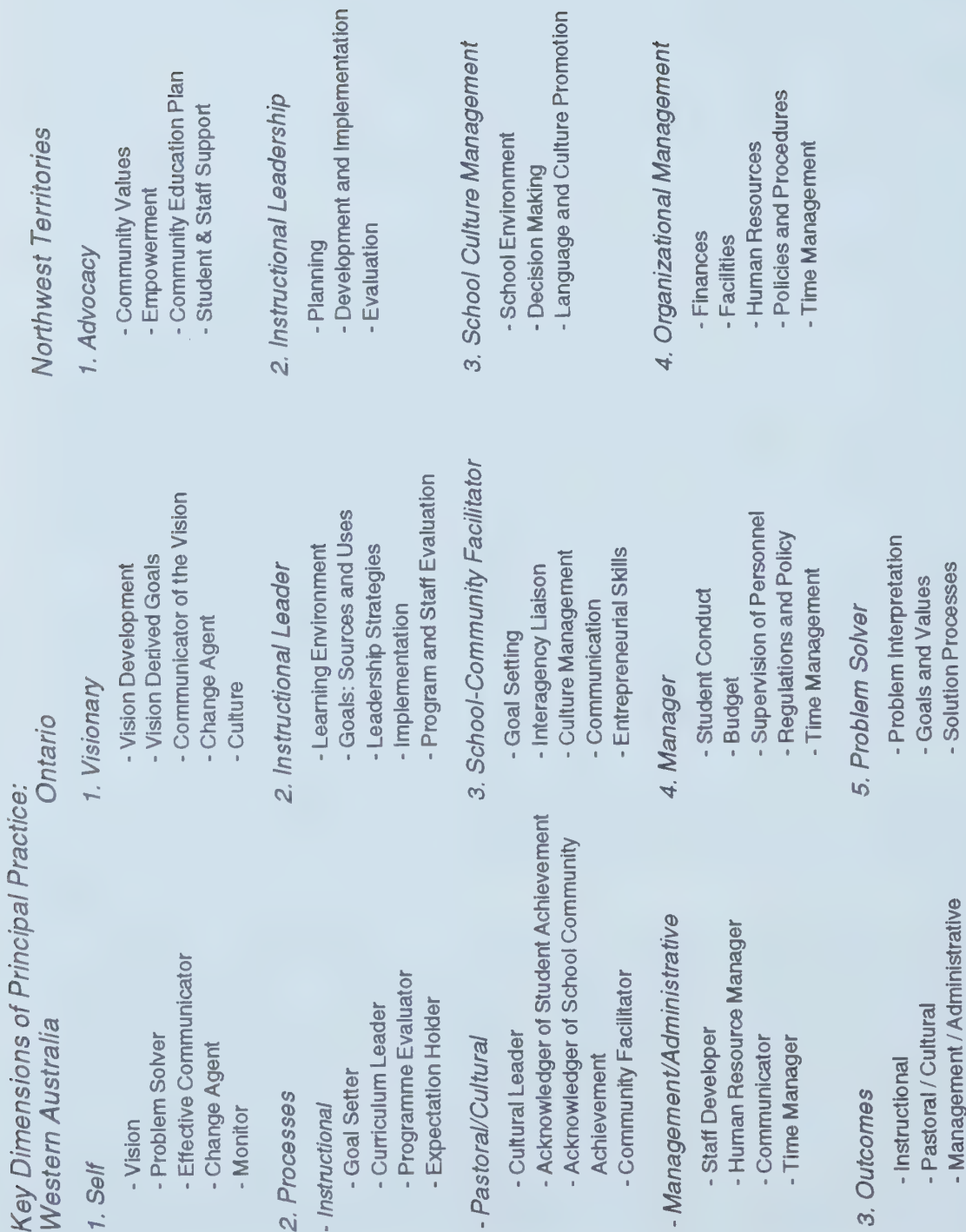


Figure 3. Comparing the key dimensions of practice from three profiles; WA, Ontario, and NWT.

findings as part of the profiling process, it is not surprising that the profiles share some of the same vocabulary and concepts.

A comparison of the NWT and Ontario profiles reveals a heavier emphasis in the NWT profile on transformational (collaborative, teacher, and community empowering) strategies. The ideal NWT principal is portrayed as engaging in school culture or organizational *management* as opposed to being *the manager*; an emphasis on facilitation and consensus building rather than control. In contrast, the Ontario profile projects a more individual or charismatic leadership-oriented image of the role. The Ontario Profile also presents a more ambitious or sophisticated image of the principalship. This is illustrated by the inclusion of *visionary* and *problem solver* as additional key dimensions of practice. However, in both profiles the writing teams have clearly expanded their image of the principal's role beyond the limitations of traditional instructional leadership.

The WA Principal Profile also has some unique qualities. The Australian writing team chose to place the three dimensions common to all three profiles (culture, instruction, and administrative management) in a single composite dimension they called *processes*. They then created a separate dimension, titled *self*, as a way of describing the personal orientations that drive the activities or processes of the principalship. This effort to isolate the beliefs and intents that underlie the actions of the principalship is unique to the three profiles.

A second unique feature of the WA Profile is a third composite dimension identified as *outcomes*. This key dimension collates the highest levels of effective practice identified under processes into a summary of goal oriented practices. Like the Ontario and NWT profiles, the three sections of the WA profile are clearly interrelated, but unlike the other two profiles may be used separately or as a total picture. Thus the WA Profile user may look at his or her success on the outcome dimension of the profile and then validate this against the processes and self-profiles. Alternatively the principal can start at processes and work either way to the other dimensions.

The profile growth strands. The preceding section focuses on the dimensions of practice selected by the writing teams for their regional profiles. In this section we look at the developmental growth described in the profiles, moving from the lower levels of competent practices to the ideals described at the highest level of the profiles. Comparison and analysis of these descriptive statements reveal the implicit *growth strands* that the writing teams incorporated in their profiles. Some intriguing images of professional growth emerge. What follows is a sampling of the growth strands common to all three profiles.

From a tendency toward reactive responses to proactive responses. The *management* subdimensions in both the NWT and Ontario profiles (finances, time management) illustrate this growth strand. For example, at the lowest level of practice the principal might "devote available administrative time to immediate administrative tasks and daily occurrences," whereas at a more ideal level the principal might "develop and use a time management plan to focus the use of personal time, as well as staff resources, toward the achievement of short and long term goals."

From reliance on self, to mimicry of others, to attention on outcomes, to sensitivity to multiple environmental influences. This growth strand is evident particularly in the school and community culture management dimensions of all three profiles. What is illustrated as one proceeds along the stages of growth is an increased awareness and responsiveness to educational stakeholders and educational influences derived from the broader school community. At lower levels the principal might be “aware of parental, staff and student impact on the culture of the school.” At an ideal level the principal is more likely to “collaborate with students, staff and community to create and promote a culture in which unique needs and cultural diversity are respected.”

From rigid adherence to fixed procedures, to procedural flexibility, to philosophical or conceptual fidelity. The instructional leadership dimensions in all three profiles illustrate this growth strand in such subdimensions as evaluation. At lower levels of competence, a principal might “conform to Board policy and use established procedures to evaluate staff” or “participate in mandated program reviews.” A skillful instructional leader would “monitor progress toward attainment of school goals through program and staff evaluation procedures” and “work with teachers to develop self-evaluation procedures and professional reflection.”

From in-school focus, to inter-school focus, to school within the greater community focus. All three profiles incorporate this growth strand, particularly in the school and community culture management subdimensions. In the Northwest Territories a competent principal would be “sensitive to the need for incorporating local cultural activities in the school” and “invite the community to attend special school events.” However, more ideal practice would be demonstrated by a principal who “employs the cultures of the community to enhance individual and collective self esteem, and to promote learning in a multilingual educational system.”

From a limited repertoire to a broad repertoire of strategies: The highest levels of practice across several dimensions of the three profiles, but especially the subdimensions of instructional leadership, manifest this notion. At lower levels of effectiveness principals might “employ a limited number of broadly accepted strategies to manage instructional affairs (inform staff of P.D. opportunities),” whereas at more exemplary levels principals might “recognize and encourage the development of curricular expertise among teachers and resource staff” and “promote sharing among staff to encourage skill development and reflection about teaching practices (collaborative peer coaching).”

Conclusion

The three profiles described in this article have now been published as professional resource documents and broadly distributed in their regions. Although there are potential liabilities resulting from the use of profiles, we believe that the benefits far outweigh the liabilities. Certainly the practitioners involved in the validation of these profiles have responded with enthusiastic support for the documents. We have been encouraged enough by the outcomes of our first three profiles that tentative plans have been made to produce at least two additional profiles in the coming year: one in the United States and a third Canadian profile.

Leadership profiles are currently being used in a variety of ways by Canadian and Australian administrators. Individuals employ them as tools to support personal professional development through self-evaluation, mentoring, and coaching. They have been adopted by several school districts as supports to an espoused image of effective school leadership practice, or to design needs assessment instruments for staff development purposes. More formal applications include their adoption as the conceptual framework for structuring mandated principal certification courses in Ontario and the Northwest Territories. Finally, in both Ontario and Western Australia their respective profiles have significantly shaped the design and development of professional development programs sponsored at both the university and school district level.

The popularity and ready acceptance of these leadership profiles by practitioners in Canada and Australia raises a final point. The importance of university/school district collaboration as a support to the renewal of education in North America is a recurring theme in the literature. Unfortunately, there are few documented examples of successful university/school district collaboration. Rarer still are projects that can be easily and economically replicated by other organizations wishing to develop inter-sector collaboration in their regions. We would propose leadership profile development as an example of the latter. Clearly there is a need for more field development projects of this type, that is, collaborative action research involving academics and practitioners working together to improve educational practice.

Notes

1. For a more comprehensive review of research on the principalship, see Leithwood et al. (1990) or Leithwood et al. (1992).
2. Instructional leadership is usually characterized by the presence of a clearly articulated educational philosophy, extensive knowledge about effective educational practices, and a clear understanding of the policy environment framing the school's purposes and practices. This image of the role emphasizes leadership as well as management functions and extends considerably beyond the performance of routine work tasks, the usual domain of training research. In the research community, justification for an instructional leadership approach to school administration has been based largely on the premise that certain characteristic actions of principals, intended to encourage and support classroom practices linked by research to improved student outcomes, have a positive impact on student achievement. However, research by Heck, Larsen, and Marcoulides (1990) has also begun to validate the instructional leadership role of principals as a causal link to improved student outcomes.
3. Copies of the published profile documents are available by contacting the author at Department of Educational Administration, Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, 252 Bloor Street West, Toronto, ON M5S 1V6.

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Undergraduate Student Attrition: A Comparison of the Characteristics of Students Who Withdraw and Students Who Persist

A recent Commission of Inquiry on Canadian University Education reported that from the crude data available "it would appear that 42% of full-time students who entered a university in 1985 failed to get a degree from that university within five years." One hundred sixty-three undergraduate students who were required to withdraw by their university, 109 undergraduates who had withdrawn by completing the necessary withdrawal forms, 226 undergraduates who withdrew from university by simply not returning as anticipated by the Registrar, and 153 students continuing undergraduate programs were interviewed regarding demographic, academic, financial, personal, and learning characteristics and experiences. A comparison of the characteristics of these groups is provided in this article.

Selon des données brutes récentes qui proviennent de la Commission d'Enquête sur le Status de l'Éducation dans les Universités Canadiennes "paraît-il que 42% des étudiant(e)s inscrit(e)s à plein temps en études universitaires en 1985 auraient failli d'obtenir un diplôme de cette même université pendant les cinq ans suivant leur inscription initiale." On a passé à l'entrevue: 163 étudiant(e)s qui ont été obligé(e)s de se retirer de leur université, 109 étudiant(e)s qui se sont retiré(e)s en complétant les formulaires de désistement nécessaires, 226 étudiant(e)s qui, tout simplement, ne sont pas revenu(e)s aux études tel que prévu par le secrétaire et l'archiviste de l'université, et, 153 étudiant(e)s qui poursuivaient toujours leurs études, afin de s'informer à propos de leurs expériences personnelles d'apprenant(e)s ainsi que de leurs caractéristiques personnelles, démographiques, académiques, et économiques. Dans cet article on fait la comparaison des caractéristiques de ces différents groupes.

The recent Commission of Inquiry on Canadian University Education (Smith, 1991) reports that from the crude data available "it would appear that 42% of full-time students who entered a university in 1985 failed to get a degree from that university within five years" (p. 105). In the Commission's opinion, however, "the statistics are less important than the general lack of interest around the subject" (p. 105).

Apparently, there is a pervasive Canadian attitude that university simply is not for everyone and that it is only natural that some students discover their lack of interest or lack of suitability after a year or two of undergraduate study. Indeed, university attendance may lead individuals to determine their likes and dislikes and discover occupations compatible with interests and abilities. This process of self-discovery, however, may prove costly for some individuals. In most cases individuals are, at least partially, removed from the work force while they attend university, resulting in financial loss. Equally, many

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individuals leave their homes and communities to attend university, resulting in considerable disruption of their personal lives. One is forced to consider whether university attendance is the most efficient means by which individuals can determine their interests in and suitability for a university education.

Beyond concern for individual students, the consequences of high rates of student attrition are of concern to educational institutions. Canada has among the highest postsecondary education participation rates in the world, 27.5% of traditionally relevant age groups. Preceded only by the United States, 15% of Canadians hold a university degree (MacGregor, 1992). If Canada is to maintain, and perhaps even improve, this record of postsecondary participation and completion, careful consideration must be given to students who attend but fail to complete undergraduate programs of study. High rates of undergraduate student attrition may reflect inefficient utilization of continually dwindling resources. For example, the simple costs of manual and electronic record keeping place strain on administrative budgets and personnel. Instructors are plagued with balancing formal class lists with actual student attendance. An all too familiar instructor and/or administrator comment is "He or she must have dropped out."

Despite the extensive literature that addresses issues of student attrition, much remains unknown about the longitudinal process and complex interplay of forces that give rise to undergraduate student attrition. Students who withdraw are often portrayed as having a particular personality profile or as lacking important attributes prerequisite to university success (Blanchfield, 1971; Munro, 1981; Ott, 1988; Pascarella, Smart, & Ethington, 1986). As Gilbert (Smith, 1991) observes, however, "there is no real mystery about attrition; students re-enroll when they are having an exciting, substantive learning and personal growth experience that they can relate to their future development and success" (p. 106).

We need, then, specific information concerning Canadian undergraduate students who leave their universities prior to degree completion and, more generally, a model of the process of institution-based and student-based undergraduate withdrawal. Such a model, coupled with valid information, would be policy relevant, not merely of academic interest.

A Model of Undergraduate Student Attrition

A wide range of student characteristics have been empirically associated with undergraduate attrition. Academic factors such as limited hours of study, inefficient study skills, absenteeism, marginal academic prerequisite competences, and vague educational goals have all been linked to students prematurely leaving institutions of higher education (De Rome & Lewin, 1984; Getzlaf, Sedlacek, Kearney, & Blackwell, 1984; Grosset, 1991; Johnes, 1990; Van Overwalle, 1989). In addition, personal variables such as poor health, financial stress, employment, family responsibilities, gender, age, ethnicity, and lack of outside encouragement have been associated with college withdrawal (Boutsen & Colbry, 1991; Braxton, Brier, & Hossler, 1988; Ethington, 1990; Fox, 1986; Johnson & Miller, 1993; Johnson et al., 1992; Lang, Dunham, & Alpert, 1988; Mallette & Cabrera, 1991; Metzner & Bean, 1987; Moline, 1987; Nora, 1987; Theophilides, Terenzini, & Wendell, 1984).

In addition to specific student attributes, there is some evidence that campus integration is more characteristic of students who are successful in completion of their college programs than of students who are not (Allen & Nelson, 1989; Bers & Smith, 1991; Stage, 1989; Terenzini & Wright, 1987). Campus integration is defined as the extent to which students integrate into campus social life (e.g., make friends, join campus clubs and organizations). As well, institutional variables such as instructor behavior, number of students enrolled, and student support services have been associated with differential student postsecondary persistence (Bauer, 1981; Johnes & Taylor, 1989; Pascarella & Terenzini, 1983; Stampen & Cabrera, 1986).

With respect to undergraduate students who withdraw, a distinction must be made between those who voluntarily withdraw and those who are required to withdraw by their institution (Hayes, 1977; Simpson, Baker, & Mellinger, 1980; Tinto, 1987). In this regard, "the label dropout is one of the more frequently misused terms in our lexicon of educational descriptors" (Tinto, 1987, p. 3). It is used to describe the actions of all students who leave university without a degree, regardless of the reasons or circumstances that precipitated their departure. Graphically presented in Figure 1, undergraduate withdrawal is conceptualized as the consequence of either an institutional or a personal decision. Institutional decisions are generally based on inadequate student academic performance, although in a few cases institutions require students to withdraw for reasons of misconduct (e.g., plagiarism, cheating).

Personal withdrawal decisions are far more complex. Students make the decision to withdraw from undergraduate programs on the basis of two main factors, summarized in Figure 1 as Academic Performance and Psychological State. Students have a perception of the quality of their academic performance and evaluate that perception against a personal standard. Each student is characterized by a psychological state influenced by, among other things, campus integration and societal forces such as perceived employment options. Student academic performance and psychological state at the most fundamental level are the consequence of the relationship between student academic or personal characteristics and institutional factors. That is, each university student is characterized by a unique combination of academic (e.g., study skills, academic prerequisites) and personal (e.g., health, finances, family responsibilities) attributes. This unique combination of characteristics interacts with institutional variables such as course availability, instructor behavior, and student support services. It is the interaction between an individual and an institution that results in student academic performance and psychological state, directly or indirectly the bases for both institutional and personal withdrawal decisions.

Statement of the Problem

Undergraduate student attrition requires investigation both on behalf of students and on behalf of universities. How do students who withdraw from undergraduate programs differ from students who persist? What are the factors associated with undergraduate student withdrawal and persistence? How do students who voluntarily withdraw differ from students who are required to withdraw by the institution? What actions might universities take to increase undergraduate student retention?

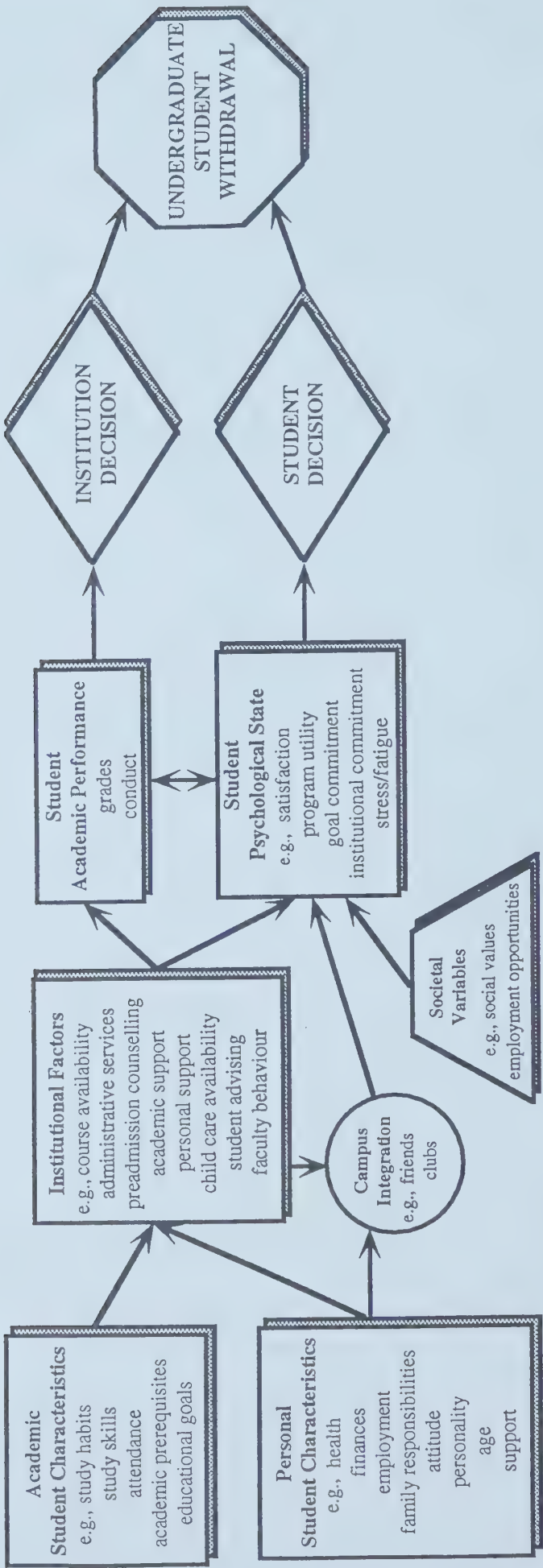


Figure 1. A model of undergraduate student attrition.

Methods and Procedures

Subjects

Information obtained from the Office of the Registrar of a large Western Canadian university showed that from mid-September 1991 to mid-September 1992, excluding students auditing all their courses, visiting students, special students, and unclassified students, approximately 10% of the undergraduate population left the institution without a degree. This one-year nondegree departure rate is similar to those recently reported by the Ontario University Registrars' Association (Gilbert & MacLean, 1992). From this approximate 10% of the undergraduate population, 674 names were randomly generated (the number of subjects selected was directly related to financial resources available). Of these 498 were contacted and agreed to participate (some of those on the list were not located due to disconnected telephones or no telephone number provided), resulting in a response rate of 74%. Once contacted students were asked to specify the nature of their university withdrawal. Three distinct types of university withdrawal emerged:

1. *Students who were required to withdraw by the institution:* 163 of the 498 withdrawn students (32.7% of the sample of students) did so at the request of the institution.
2. *Students who voluntarily withdrew and completed the appropriate withdrawal forms:* 109 of the 498 withdrawn students (21.9% of the sample of students) followed official university protocol by completing the necessary withdrawal forms.
3. *Students who did not continue/return as anticipated and who did not complete the necessary withdrawal forms:* 226 of the 498 withdrawn students (34.7% of the sample of students) did not follow official withdrawal protocol, that is, they simply did not return/continue as anticipated by the Registrar.

For purposes of comparison a corresponding sample of students continuing undergraduate programs was obtained. A random list of 167 continuing undergraduate students (number of subjects selected directly related to financial resources available) was generated (i.e., individuals in attendance at the institution in September 1991 who did not graduate and who were continuing undergraduate programs in September 1992). Of these 167 continuing undergraduate students, 153 were contacted and agreed to participate (a few individuals from the initial random list were not located), resulting in a response rate of 92%.

Withdrawn and continuing student samples were distributed across 18 faculties and programs. Large faculties were most frequently represented and, correspondingly, small faculties/programs were marginally represented. Summarized in Table 1, for example, Faculty of Arts students constituted 20.7%, Faculty of Education students 17.5%, and Faculty of Science students 33.9% of the withdrawn sample. With respect to the continuing student sample, 0.7% were registered in the Faculty of Law, 0.7% were registered in Dental Hygiene, and 0.7% were registered in Medical Laboratory Sciences. (Small individual faculty sample size renders faculty-specific generalization of findings questionable.)

Student withdrawal was progressively less likely as year of program increased. As presented in Table 2, 40.4% of the withdrawn students were in their

first year of undergraduate study, 30.3% in their second year, 17.7% in their third year, and 11.6% in their fourth year of study. Because of initial sampling procedures, first year students were marginally represented in the continuing student group. Recall that for comparison purposes, continuing students were drawn from a sample that was in attendance in September 1991, that did not graduate, and that was in attendance in September 1992. The nine first-year students in the continuing sample were reportedly in their first-year of undergraduate studies for two consecutive years; they were part-time students. Males and females were equally represented in the withdrawn student sample (49.4% and 50.6% respectively) and equally represented in the continuing student sample (49.7% and 50.3% respectively).

Data Collection

A telephone interview questionnaire was developed that asked students a number of questions concerned with demographic, academic, financial, personal, and learning characteristics and experiences. Questionnaire items were forced-choice, that is, questions were answered by selecting from a set of choices (e.g., yes-no-maybe; never-sometimes-often).

Ten telephone interviewers were hired and trained. Students were contacted during February and March 1993. Interviews were conducted on all days of the week, with contact being most frequent on Saturday and Sunday. Interviewers often had to make repeated attempts to contact students. For the continuing student group, average number of callbacks was 2.6 (range 0-12) and for the withdrawn student group 3.2 (range 0-18).

Table 1
Faculty Distribution of Continuing and Withdrawn Samples

Faculty	Continuing Students		Withdrawn Students	
	Frequency (n = 153)	Percentage	Frequency (n = 498)	Percentage
Agriculture and Forestry	2	1.3	16	3.2
Arts	27	17.6	103	20.7
Business	14	9.2	26	5.2
Dentistry and Dental Hygiene	3	2.0	1	0.2
Education	26	17.0	87	17.5
Engineering	17	11.1	49	9.8
Faculté St. Jean	2	1.3	14	2.8
Home Economics	2	1.3	5	1.0
Law	1	0.7	2	0.4
Medicine and Medical Laboratory Sciences	6	4.0	4	0.8
Native Studies	2	1.3	1	0.2
Nursing	2	1.3	13	2.6
Pharmacy	6	3.9	1	0.2
Physical Education and Recreation	4	2.6	6	1.2
Rehabilitation Medicine	6	3.9	1	0.2
Science	33	21.6	169	33.9

Table 2
Year of Program Distribution of Continuing and Withdrawn Samples

Year of Program	Continuing Students		Withdrawn Students	
	Frequency (n = 153)	Percentage	Frequency (n = 498)	Percentage
First Year	9	5.9	201	40.2
Second Year	46	30.1	151	30.3
Third Year	51	33.3	88	17.7
Fourth Year	45	29.4	58	11.6
Fifth Year	2	1.3	0	0.0

Data Analysis

The four student groups (163 students who were required to withdraw by the institution, 109 students who withdrew by completing the necessary withdrawal forms, 226 students who withdrew by simply not returning as anticipated by the Registrar, 153 students continuing their undergraduate programs of study) were compared in terms of proportional (e.g., percent of sample that borrowed money from the Student Finance Board) or mean (e.g., average amount borrowed from the Student Finance Board) questionnaire responses. Analyses of Variance were computed in order to determine the significance of differences between groups. For purposes of reporting and discussing results, questionnaire items were organized into meaningful categories (e.g., background/entering student characteristics, student academic behavior and performance, student finance and employment, campus integration, personal characteristics, and evaluation of learning experiences).

Results and Discussion

Table 3 presents four-group comparisons for student background characteristics, that is, characteristics that students possessed on university entry. Students who were required to withdraw were on average younger than the continuing comparison group, 21.4 years and 23.1 years respectively. Students who officially and unofficially voluntarily withdrew from university, on the other hand, were older than the continuing comparison group ($F=28.737$, $p<.001$, $df=2$). Students who withdrew from university, either officially or by simply not returning, were less likely to have attended university directly after high school than were students required to withdraw by the institution ($F=15.358$, $p<.001$, $df=2$). Youth and inexperience characterized students who were required to withdraw by the institution. Relatively greater maturity characterized students who voluntarily withdrew or simply did not return to university.

Significant differences across the four groups were found in student-reported grade 12 marks ($F=5.117$, $p<.01$, $df=2$). On average, students who were required to withdraw reported grade 12 averages of 78.7%. Students who voluntarily withdrew by completing the necessary withdrawal forms as well as those who did not return reported grade 12 averages of 81.1%. Students continuing their undergraduate programs reported grade 12 averages of 83.1%. Students who officially or unofficially voluntarily withdrew were five to six

times more likely than students who were required to withdraw to report entering university as nonmatriculated students ($F=5.151, p<.01, df=2$). Entering university as a nonmatriculated student was most frequently associated with student-initiated withdrawal decisions. Entering university as a matriculated student, on the other hand, was most frequently associated with institution-initiated withdrawal decisions. Apparently, there is a set of attributes that typically characterizes undergraduate students most likely to persist with their university programs. This potentially persistent undergraduate will not be too young nor too old. He or she will have been employed prior to university attendance, but will not have worked for too long. This hypothetically persistent university student has a relatively high grade 12 average. As Canadian universities move with the current tide of lifelong learning, consideration must be given to the instructional accommodation of students who deviate from what has traditionally been understood as the typical undergraduate student.

The four student groups differed from one another in terms of academic behavior and performance (Table 4). Approximately half the students who were required to withdraw by the institution reported frequently missing classes, while fewer than one third of students who officially or unofficially voluntarily withdrew reported the same ($F=15.791, p<.001, df=2$). Correspondingly, 22% of those students who were required to withdraw reported frequently failing to submit course assignments, while 7.3% of the group that voluntarily withdrew by completing the necessary withdrawal forms and 4.8%

Table 3
Across-group Comparison of Background/Entering Student Characteristics

Abbreviated Item	Student Group			
	Required to withdraw (<i>n</i> = 163)	Voluntarily ^a withdrew (<i>n</i> = 109)	Did not ^b return (<i>n</i> = 226)	Continuing (<i>n</i> = 153)
Age in years	21.4 (3.25)	26.6 (8.38)	25.7 (7.24)	23.1 (5.73)
Attended university directly after high school	63.2%	32.1%	42.0%	56.9%
Grade 12 average	78.7%	81.1%	81.1%	83.1%
Employed full-time prior to university attendance	20.2%	46.8%	40.3%	24.8%
Number of years employed	4.1 (4.71)	9.3 (8.43)	8.5 (7.34)	6.0 (5.50)
Entered as non-matriculation student	3.1%	16.5%	16.8%	9.2%
Father has university degree	29.4%	34.9%	32.3%	37.3%
Mother has university degree	23.9%	26.6%	22.1%	30.1%
Enrolled without clear career goals	41.1%	32.1%	39.8%	42.5%

Note. As applicable, figures reflect group mean (and standard deviation) or proportion of the group responding in the affirmative to the questionnaire item.

^astudent-initiated official university withdrawal (completed voluntary withdrawal forms)

^bstudent-initiated unofficial university withdrawal (did not complete voluntary withdrawal forms but, rather, simply did not return to/continue university as anticipated by the Registrar).

of those students who simply did not return reported the same. With respect to the continuing comparison group, only 2.6% reported frequently not submitting course assignments ($F=24.817, p<.001, df=2$). Falling behind in course related readings was equally characteristic of students who were required to withdraw and of students who were continuing undergraduate programs of study but significantly different from the groups of students who officially and unofficially voluntarily withdrew from university ($F=15.587, p<.001, df=2$). Students who were required to withdraw showed a clear pattern relative to the other student groups of depressed academic performance. Student-reported grade point averages showed significant differences across the four student groups ($F=142.754, p<.001, df=2$). In addition, 97% of the sample of students who were required to withdraw by the university reported having failed on average 2.7 courses during their undergraduate program of studies.

In general, students who voluntarily withdrew from university by simply not returning were registered in fewer courses than any of the other student groups. Both students who were required to withdraw and those who voluntarily withdrew were on average registered in fewer courses than students in the continuing comparison group ($F=13.993, p<.001, df=2$). Although it might be assumed that students with lighter course loads would have more time to

Table 4
Across-group Comparison of Student Academic Behavior and Performance

Abbreviated Item	Student Group			
	Required to withdraw (n = 163)	Voluntarily ^a withdrew (n = 109)	Did not ^b return (n = 226)	Continuing (n = 153)
Often missed classes	52.1%	31.2%	30.1%	17.6%
Often did not submit assignments	22.0%	7.3%	4.8%	2.6%
Often fell behind in readings	69.3%	35.7%	41.2%	63.1%
Grade point average	4.5 (1.11)	6.1 (1.27)	6.4 (1.09)	7.0 (0.85)
Have poor study skills	68.1%	25.7%	29.2%	26.8%
Have inefficient time-management	53.4%	33.0%	23.9%	26.8%
Average number of courses registered in	4.6 (1.43)	4.2 (1.62)	3.7 (1.66)	5.1 (2.32)
Ever withdrawn from a course	74.8%	83.5%	68.6%	58.8%
Average number of course withdrawals	2.2 (1.43)	2.9 (2.00)	2.6 (2.22)	2.5 (1.88)
Ever placed on academic probation	39.3%	19.3%	21.2%	14.4%
Ever failed university course	97.0%	36.7%	37.6%	23.5%
Average number of courses failed	2.7 (1.42)	1.7 (0.97)	2.0 (1.74)	1.9 (1.11)

Note. As applicable, figures reflect group mean (and standard deviation) or proportion of the group responding in the affirmative to the questionnaire item.

^astudent-initiated official university withdrawal (completed voluntary withdrawal forms)

^bstudent-initiated unofficial university withdrawal (did not complete voluntary withdrawal forms but, rather, simply did not return to/continue university as anticipated by the Registrar).

Table 5
Across-group Comparison of Student Employment and Finance
Characteristics

Abbreviated Item	Student Group			
	Required to withdraw (n = 163)	Voluntarily ^a withdrew (n = 109)	Did not ^b return (n = 226)	Continuing (n = 153)
Employed last three months of university attendance	47.9%	48.6%	53.5%	39.2%
Hours per week employed	19.9 (12.49)	20.0 (10.69)	23.2 (13.83)	16.2 (10.24)
Borrowed from Student Finance Board	42.3%	55.0%	51.8%	58.2%
Average amount borrowed	\$6583 (7291)	\$8865 (7564)	\$8513 (6127)	\$10,538 (6756)
Enough money to meet basic needs	89.6%	89.9%	88.5%	83.7%
Experience financial problems	18.4%	22.0%	23.9%	28.1%

Note. As applicable, figures reflect group mean (and standard deviation) or proportion of the group responding in the affirmative to the questionnaire item.

^astudent-initiated official university withdrawal (completed voluntary withdrawal forms)

^bstudent-initiated unofficial university withdrawal (did not complete voluntary withdrawal forms but, rather, simply did not return to/continue university as anticipated by the Registrar).

concentrate on course requirements than students with heavy course loads, such did not appear to be the case. Instead, it appeared that students who were taking a full course load were more likely to persist with their undergraduate studies than students who were, for example, registered as part-time students. Indeed, students registered in less than a full course load may be burdened with employment and familial demands. Interestingly, students who voluntarily withdrew from university by completing the required withdrawal forms were more likely than any of the other student groups to report having withdrawn from a course or courses; 83.5% stated that they had withdrawn from an average of 2.9 courses ($F=4.338, p<.05, df=2$). Because they complied with university procedures, it may be that students who voluntarily withdrew by completing withdrawal forms were more accommodating to university protocol than were students who simply did not return to university as anticipated by the Registrar. Equally, students who officially withdrew from university by completing the necessary forms were in control of their actions, just as students who withdrew from individual university courses demonstrated control of the actions.

Table 5 presents across-group comparisons for questionnaire item responses concerned with student employment and general financial situation. During university attendance, students who withdrew were not significantly more often employed than were students who persisted. Relative to students who withdrew from university, students who continued their academic programs were not significantly more likely to report having borrowed money from the Student Finance Board and were not significantly more indebted.

However, students who persisted with their undergraduate programs generally reported greater financial hardship than did students who withdrew. As consistently reported in the literature, financial situation does not appear related to student attrition from university. Nevertheless, it is possible that individuals vary in their capacity to tolerate financial hardship. Or perhaps tolerance of financial hardship is associated with other variables such as student age, level of independence, and extent of personal commitment to program continuation. Regardless, indebtedness and unemployment were not significantly more characteristic of students who continued than of students who withdrew from undergraduate programs of study.

Campus integration questionnaire item responses are summarized and compared in Table 6. Students who continued undergraduate programs did not necessarily show a clear pattern, relative to students who withdrew from university, of more complete integration into campus life. Relatively large proportions of both continuing and withdrawn undergraduate students reported incidence of campus isolation. For example, approximately half of those students who continued their undergraduate programs reported being actively involved in campus clubs and organizations; approximately one third of students who withdrew reported the same. Students who withdrew were not significantly more likely to report feeling lonely at university than were students who persisted in their undergraduate studies. Correspondingly, students who withdrew were not significantly more likely than students in the continuing comparison group to report feeling alienated while attending university. Equally, student-reported experience or perception of on-campus discrimination was not significantly different across the four student groups. The overwhelming majority of students in the continuing group, however, reported that leaving university prior to degree completion would be an unpleasant experience (91.5%). Fewer than half of those students required to withdraw by the institution reported that their university departure was an unpleasant experience (47.9%). Fewer than one third of those students who withdrew by completing the necessary withdrawal forms viewed the withdrawal experience as unpleasant (31.1%). Fewer than one quarter of the students who withdrew from university by not returning recounted their withdrawal experience as unpleasant (22.5%). Such differences did not occur by chance ($F=22.802$, $p<.001$, $df=2$). Apparently, students who have control of their university careers (i.e., officially or unofficially voluntarily withdraw) have a more positive interpretation of the university withdrawal experience than do students under the control of the institution (i.e., required to withdraw by the university).

As summarized in Table 7, the four student groups differed from one another on a number of personal attributes. The group of students who voluntarily withdrew by completing the appropriate forms showed the lowest rate relative to the other three groups of academic confidence; 7.3% reported that they felt unable to succeed at university ($F=3.227$, $p<.05$, $df=2$). Students who withdrew were not significantly more likely as a group and in relation to students in the continuing comparison group to be characterized by family problems, but were significantly more likely to report personal problems ($F=5.091$, $p<.05$, $df=2$). Students who were required to withdraw by the institu-

Table 6
Across-group Comparison of Student Integration into Campus Life

Abbreviated Item	Student Group			
	Required to withdraw (n = 163)	Voluntarily ^a withdrew (n = 109)	Did not ^b return (n = 226)	Continuing (n = 153)
Belonged to university clubs/organizations	36.8%	28.4%	36.3%	51.0%
Average hours per week at club activities	5.2 (12.49)	4.5 (3.72)	6.8 (8.13)	6.2 (7.09)
Felt lonely at university	19.0%	15.6%	20.8%	7.2%
Felt alienated at university	25.3%	18.3%	18.1%	5.2%
Felt university was too impersonal	63.1%	44.0%	47.4%	33.3%
Had close university student-friends	69.9%	70.7%	60.2%	88.2%
Felt homesick	13.5%	7.4%	8.8%	11.8%
Felt discriminated against	3.7%	7.4%	9.3%	1.3%
Leaving university was/would be unpleasant	47.9%	31.1%	22.5%	91.5%

Note. As applicable, figures reflect group mean (and standard deviation) or proportion of the group responding in the affirmative to the questionnaire item.

^astudent-initiated official university withdrawal (completed voluntary withdrawal forms)

^bstudent-initiated unofficial university withdrawal (did not complete voluntary withdrawal forms but, rather, simply did not return to/continue university as anticipated by the Registrar).

tion were four times more likely than students continuing undergraduate programs to define their social lives as excessive ($F=24.208, p<.001, df=2$). Not one student in the continuing comparison group reported attending university as a response to outside pressure. In contrast, approximately 5% of those students who personally initiated their undergraduate withdrawal reported experiencing outside pressure to attend university; 9.2% of those students who withdrew at the request of the institution reported the same ($F=5.170, p<.01, df=2$). Lack of familial support was also more characteristic of students who withdrew from university than of students who persisted.

Relative to the continuing group, marriage was significantly more characteristic of students who initiated their own withdrawal from university and less characteristic of students whose university withdrawal was initiated by the institution ($F=18.283, p<.001, df= 2$). Approximately 10% of the continuing comparison group reported having children; students who were required to withdraw were half as likely to be parents; students who voluntarily withdrew as well as those who simply did not return were more than twice as likely to be parents ($F=10.723, p<.001, df=2$). Apparently, marriage and parenthood are risk factors for undergraduate student withdrawal from university. Being married with children increases the probability of student-initiated undergraduate withdrawal; being single without children increases the probability of institution-initiated undergraduate withdrawal.

The four student groups showed differences with respect to evaluation of their learning experiences at university (Table 8). Among students who

Table 7
Across-group Comparison of Student Personal Characteristics

Abbreviated Item	Student Group			
	Required to withdraw (n = 163)	Voluntarily ^a withdrew (n = 109)	Did not ^b return (n = 226)	Continuing (n = 153)
Felt unable to succeed at university	5.5%	7.3%	2.7%	3.9%
Had family problems	21.5%	18.2%	15.9%	7.8%
Had personal problems	33.7%	30.2%	23.0%	9.1%
Socialized excessively	26.3%	13.8%	8.0%	7.9%
Outside pressure to attend university	9.2%	4.6%	4.9%	0.0%
Family not support decision to attend	4.9%	2.7%	3.1%	1.3%
Never married	93.3%	69.7%	65.0%	85.6%
Have children	4.9%	21.1%	20.4%	9.8%
Average number of children	1.3 (0.44)	2.6 (1.09)	2.0 (1.18)	1.9 (1.37)
Had child care problems	1.8%	4.6%	3.5%	2.6%

Note. As applicable, figures reflect group mean (and standard deviation) or proportion of the group responding in the affirmative to the questionnaire item.
^astudent-initiated official university withdrawal (completed voluntary withdrawal forms)
^bstudent-initiated unofficial university withdrawal (did not complete voluntary withdrawal forms but, rather, simply did not return to/continue university as anticipated by the Registrar).

withdrew from university, more notably for students who were required to withdraw than for those who voluntarily withdrew, there existed a perception, more apparent than in the continuing comparison group, that instructors were unavailable ($F=16.800, p<.001, df=2$) and that the quality of instruction was poor ($F=4.941, p<.01, df=2$). Students who were required to withdraw were three to four times more likely to report not enjoying their undergraduate classes than were students continuing undergraduate programs of study ($F=7.215, p<.01, df=2$).

Approximately half the students who withdrew felt that their undergraduate programs were not developing skills necessary for employment. Although 11.8% of the continuing comparison group reported the same perception, such group differences may have occurred by chance. A similar, although less pronounced, pattern was evident with respect to students' evaluation of their learning of specific competences. For example, 30.1% of required to withdraw students reported that they had not learned oral expression while attending university, and 21.5% reported that they had not learned written expression. In contrast, 11.1% of the continuing comparison group reported that they had not learned oral expression while attending university and 11.7% reported that they had not learned written expression. Although these group differences are of interest, across-group significance was not established.

Theoretical Contributions and Implications for Practice

Both validation and reconsideration of the proposed Model of Undergraduate Student Attrition (Figure 1) are reflected in the current findings. Campus

Table 8
Across-group Comparison of Student Evaluation of Learning Experiences

<i>Abbreviated Item</i>	<i>Student Group</i>			
	<i>Required to withdraw (n = 163)</i>	<i>Voluntarily^a withdrew (n = 109)</i>	<i>Did not^b return (n = 226)</i>	<i>Continuing (n = 153)</i>
Felt instructors were unavailable	38.0%	20.1%	22.1%	11.8%
Felt poor quality of instruction	29.5%	21.1%	25.7%	14.4%
Unable to take desired courses	19.6%	22.1%	27.4%	24.2%
Did not enjoy classes	19.6%	19.3%	11.5%	5.9%
University attendance is/was a bad experience	11.8%	8.3%	7.1%	2.7%
Did not learn verbal expression	30.1%	21.1%	28.8%	11.1%
Did not learn written expression	21.5%	18.4%	19.0%	11.7%
Did not learn employment skills	50.3%	44.9%	45.5%	11.8%
Program was wrong decision	20.8%	20.2%	17.6%	4.0%

Note. As applicable, figures reflect group mean (and standard deviation) or proportion of the group responding in the affirmative to the questionnaire item.

^astudent-initiated official university withdrawal (completed voluntary withdrawal forms)

^bstudent-initiated unofficial university withdrawal (did not complete voluntary withdrawal forms but, rather, simply did not return to/continue university as anticipated by the Registrar).

integration, at least as measured by the questionnaire items (e.g., belonged to university clubs/organizations, felt lonely at university, felt alienated at university, felt discriminated against), did not appear specifically related to undergraduate student withdrawal or persistence. Institutional commitment, measured by an affirmative response to the questionnaire item leaving university was/would be unpleasant, was clearly more characteristic of students who persisted with undergraduate programs than of students who withdrew. Certain academic student characteristics proposed in Figure 1 were found to relate to student attrition whereas others were not. For example, varying levels of academic prerequisite competences were differentially associated with undergraduate student attrition. Correspondingly, certain personal student characteristics proposed in Figure 1 were found to relate to student attrition whereas others were not. For example, student age was significantly related to student withdrawal, but student finance did not appear to be associated with withdrawal. Student grades were obviously related to institution-initiated university withdrawal decisions; student psychological state was most strongly associated with student-initiated university withdrawal.

Students who were required to withdraw by the institution were different from students who voluntarily withdrew. Both groups of students, however, differed from the typical continuing undergraduate student. A composite profile of the continuing undergraduate student emerged from the data. Deviation from this profile was associated with increased probability of university withdrawal. Relative to the typical continuing university student, students who were required to withdraw by the institution were younger. Students who voluntarily withdrew, on the other hand, were older than the typical continu-

ing undergraduate student. Students who withdrew on average entered university with slightly lower grade 12 averages than did students who persisted in undergraduate programs. An increased focus on preadmission counseling services may serve to reduce undergraduate student attrition. Prior to admission, students should be advised of the characteristics most typically associated with student persistence in undergraduate programs. In some cases, students may benefit from delayed admission to university in favor of relevant work experience. Preadmission awareness of the characteristics more common of students who withdraw than of students who persist may result in student as well as institution proactive action. For example, increased focus on helping students deal with personal problems may serve to increase retention.

In general, students who voluntarily withdrew did not report having less efficient time management and study skills than did continuing undergraduate students. Students who were required to withdraw, however, on average reported less efficient time management and study skills than did students continuing undergraduate programs. Relative to continuing students, students who voluntarily withdrew reported somewhat lower academic performance, but students who were required to withdraw reported considerably lower academic performance. Postadmission academic support services may serve to increase undergraduate student program completion. Some students may benefit from remedial reading and writing and perhaps tutorial support for particularly problematic or challenging courses.

Students who were required to withdraw as well as those who voluntarily withdrew did not significantly differ from students who were continuing undergraduate programs in terms of patterns of employment and general financial situations. As generally reported in the literature, financial situation is not related to student attrition from university. Nevertheless, a relatively large proportion of the continuing undergraduate students surveyed reported that they were experiencing financial hardship in order to pursue university careers. Although not predictive of undergraduate attrition, such information should not be ignored by university administrators and student services personnel.

Students who withdrew, particularly those who were required to withdraw, were more likely than students persisting with undergraduate programs to report the perception that instructors were unavailable and that the instruction they received was poor. An increased commitment to excellence in undergraduate teaching with specific focus on students who are academically weak may serve to increase student retention. Creative means must be found to ensure that all undergraduate students obtain the individual instructional attention they require. For example, electronic teacher-student interaction (Johnson & Johnson, *in press*) appears to hold considerable promise for individualizing instruction at the undergraduate level.

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How Prepared Were You to Teach? Beginning Teachers Assess Their Preparedness

Teachers are being challenged to alter substantially their professional practice to meet changes in schools and communities. Teacher educators are likewise called to be accountable for their practice. This follow-up study used Q-sort methodology to examine perceptions of first-year teachers' preparedness to teach and explored the effects of both strengths and weaknesses in preparedness. Revisiting their teacher education program in light of a year's classroom experience, the teachers acknowledged some program strengths and offered some suggestions for changes and improvements.

De plus en plus, les enseignant(e)s sont défié(e)s à faire des modifications considérables à leur pratique professionnelle afin de faire face aux changements scolaires et communautaires contemporains. C'est également le cas pour ceux et celles qui oeuvrent à la formation des enseignant(e)s. En utilisant une méthodologie "Q-sort" on a pu examiner les perceptions vis-à-vis l'état de préparation envers l'enseignement des enseignant(e)s après leurs première année d'enseignement. On a aussi exploré les effets des forces et des faiblesses de cet état de préparation envers l'enseignement. En faisant un retour sur leur programme de formation professionnelle après un an en salle de classe, les enseignant(e)s ont pu reconnaître les points forts du programme de formation et ils/elles ont pu offrir quelques suggestions afin de l'améliorer et d'y apporter des changements.

Genesis of this Study

Eleven years ago, about the time when teacher educators were taking heart in the emergence of a more substantial knowledge base for teaching (Berliner, 1984), a committee began to redesign University of British Columbia teacher education programs. Four and a half years later, the new elementary and secondary programs, designed somewhat in the research-based or social efficiency tradition, were first offered. They were directed less to the technical version, which emphasizes skill training to a minimal mastery level, and more to the deliberative version, in which the goal is to develop the capability to deliberate about the "use of research-based skills with other factors, within a conception of teacher as decision-maker" (Zeichner, 1993, p. 5). The distinction between the technical and deliberative versions of research-based teacher education was introduced by Feinman-Nemser (1990).

The occasion of major program alteration presented a unique opportunity to study the changing process of educating teachers. Program changes included movement, almost entirely to a post-baccalaureate or consecutive preparation model and the adoption of a developmental practicum sequence starting with a series of regular half days, followed by a two-week orientation

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practicum and ending with a 13-week, single-placement, extended practicum. Several courses were designed in large, single-lecture format supplemented with small-group laboratories to permit follow-up discussion and coached skill development. Chief among these was a generic-skills teaching course called Principles of Teaching. A course to prepare faculty members and sponsor teachers to advise student teachers was also implemented.

Feelings of preparedness to teach was chosen as a research focus in expectation that one of the initial outcomes of improving the program would be an increasing recognition and endorsement of preparedness by student teachers (Bandura, 1986). An interdepartmentally generated repertoire of skills considered essential to a beginning teacher, one of the foundations for program change, provided the framework for the subsequently developed PREP Scale (Housego, 1990b). This scale was used to compare the feelings of preparedness to teach of students in the old and new programs (Housego, 1990a) and to monitor the development of feelings of preparedness to teach from term to term across programs (Housego, 1992a, 1992b).

In this study a selection of graduates of one program was followed into first year teaching. The PREP Scale was used to determine not how prepared to teach these beginning teachers felt prior to entering the profession, but rather how prepared to teach they actually had found themselves to be once in it. In subsequent interviews, first-year teaching and preparation for it were discussed, tempering an otherwise technical perspective with some personal, even perhaps moral, soundings (Goodlad, 1991).

Procedure

Participants

The participants in this study were 16 graduates of the 1989-1991 University of British Columbia Faculty of Education Two-Year Elementary Program, 12 females and four males ranging in age from 24 to 40 years. Although most had come directly into teaching after completing a prior degree, at least five had worked in other capacities or spent time at home parenting. These persons were not chosen from among a larger group as a sample; the study uses replication logic (Yin, 1989). They consented to participate in response to a letter of invitation, also sent to others easily accessible for interview but from whom no response was received. Their teaching assignments spanned the elementary grades, kindergarten to grade 7, in six lower mainland school districts. One taught educationally handicapped children; another's assignment was largely as a music specialist. Four were working as long-term or daily substitute teachers near the end of the 1991-1992 school year.

The Scale and the Method

The Student Teachers' Feelings-of-Preparedness to Teach Scale (PREP Scale) was originally designed to measure the degree to which student teachers felt prepared to perform a set of tasks central to teaching and applicable across grade levels and subject matter fields. Each item is stated so as to complete the sentence "I feel prepared to ..." and accompanied by a 7-point scale, from "almost completely unprepared" to "almost completely prepared." In repeated administrations it has been found to be highly reliable (between 0.95 and 0.97 based on Hoyt's coefficient, an index of item homogeneity) and valid for the

purposes of the studies in which it has been used (Housego, 1990a, 1990b, 1992a, 1992b).

The participants in the present study were asked to Q-sort the 50 PREP Scale items; that is, to engage in a comparative ranking process in which every task is compared with every other, sorting them into 11 categories of predesignated size according to the degree to which they found they *actually were* prepared to perform them during their first year of teaching. At the extremities of the Q-distribution the teachers placed the two tasks for which they found they were actually most and least prepared, then the three, then the four, then the five, and finally the six tasks for which they felt they were actually next most or next least prepared, leaving 10 tasks in the central category. It was then possible to isolate among the 50, the two, five, nine, or even 14 or 20 tasks for which individual teachers and subgroups found themselves most or least prepared.

Feelings of preparedness to perform these tasks had been monitored across the two-year teacher education program (Housego, 1992a). It was possible, therefore, to trace a history of developing feelings of preparedness to teach for the tasks for which each teacher now indicated he or she was actually most and least prepared and to discuss these patterns and their effects in subsequently scheduled interviews during the last two months of the 1991-1992 school term, either on school sites or on campus. The interview questions, which also explored the experience of first-year teaching and retrospectively examined the contribution of the teacher education program to preparedness for teaching, were refined by the members of a doctoral seminar in the Center for the Study of Teacher Education. Most members had recent teaching experience in one or another Canadian province or, in some instances, in other countries, and many were currently supervising student teachers.

Interview data were transcribed, producing documentation of the 16 answers to each interview question. Each set of answers was perused for commonalities that are summarized later in this article.

Report and Discussion of Findings

Q-Group Findings

Three distinct Q-groups emerged. They were defined according to the teaching tasks for which members found themselves most and least prepared, that is, tasks for which z-scores or standard deviation scores were above +1 and below -1 respectively. All 16 participants experienced the same two-year teacher education program including the commonalities of some large-group instruction and, of course, the variation in multisectioned courses and individual practicum placements. Substitute teachers or those who began employment as substitute teachers were represented in all three Q-groups.

Group 1. This largest subgroup consisted of eight women who as a group identified themselves on the basis of strength and relative weakness of preparedness for the tasks displayed in Table 1. The group found itself well prepared to relate to students and to engage in the more creative aspects of planning instruction; for example, in tasks such as integrating learning, enriching instruction, designing activities based on a collection of materials, and drawing subject matter from personal background.

As a group, these beginning teachers found themselves least prepared for assessment tasks. They also declared a lack of preparedness to evaluate cur-

riculum materials from the standpoint of current guidelines or in the instance of their being controversial as might be the case, for example, in programs of family living and sex education or units of work on politically sensitive economic issues. In addition, they found classroom management problematic, both the routine type such as monitoring the class, implementing routines, and making smooth transitions between lessons; and the complex type, such as understanding the causes of student misbehavior. This group, which identified its strength of preparedness in relationship skills and creative endeavors and not in management or assessment, may be seen to align itself somewhat with a nurturing approach to teaching. Elbaz (1992) explains how the central concerns of mothers as described by Ruddick (1989), preservation, growth, and the shaping of an acceptable child, are also concerns for teachers and require the invention of language and conceptual categories to permit us to talk about teachers' work and thinking in these terms without accusations of sentimentality of the sort experienced by Nina, a first-year teacher in Rust's (1994) study. Nina wrote, "I've been somewhat embarrassed that I originally wanted to teach because I loved kids. I felt that it was lacking. Now I see that actually, that's the perfect reason to decide to teach" (p. 211).

Two descriptive metaphors, a gardener and a provider, in Cole's (1990) study of beginning teachers' personal theories of teaching further attest to the centrality of nurturing in teaching, as does the description of the Norwegian "good teacher" as caregiver as well as interpreter of texts (Gudmundsdottir & Saabar, 1991, p. 5). One might speculate that teachers who are able to relate effectively to students have a measure of the tact of teaching (van Manen, 1991). They interact with children in a loving, hopeful, trusting, and responsible manner.

Table 1
Q-Group 1: Teaching Tasks of Greatest and Least Preparedness

<i>Greatest Preparedness</i>	<i>Z-scores</i>
Integrating learnings from two or more subject areas	2.20
Establishing positive rapport with students	1.93
Drawing subject matter from my own knowledge	1.90
Designing activities based on a collection of materials	1.39
Enriching instruction with additional content	1.29
Focusing students' attention	1.17
<i>Least Preparedness</i>	
Determining student grades	-2.19
Keeping daily individual student records	-1.74
Designing appropriate assessment tasks	-1.70
Evaluating appropriateness of controversial materials	-1.70
Developing appropriate means of holding students accountable	-1.51
Implementing routines to minimize time loss	-1.30
Evaluating the appropriateness of materials according to curriculum guidelines	-1.24
Monitoring the entire class while working with a part	-1.21
Understanding the underlying causes of student misbehavior	-1.01
Making smooth transitions between activities	-1.00

Group 2. This group consisted of two women and two men who, as shown in Table 2, identified themselves according to their strength of preparedness for a somewhat different set of teaching tasks. They found themselves well prepared for some aspects of planning instruction, particularly identifying lesson objectives and planning for their attainment, and for designing review exercises. They also declared themselves well prepared for some instructional delivery tasks, specifically integrating learning from two or more subject areas and summarizing lessons. They were relatively well prepared for some of the organizational aspects of teaching, for example, holding students accountable, keeping daily achievement records, and preparing the classroom for instruction.

By contrast to the relationship and creative planning tasks for which Group 1 was most prepared, the tasks for which Group 2 found it was most prepared seem more technical and businesslike. This is in keeping with Berliner’s (1988) assertion that the novice stage of teacher development is a time for “learning the objective facts and features of situations and for gaining experience” (p. 40). The task for which both Groups 1 and 2 found greatest preparedness, however, was in planning instruction that integrates learning from two or more subject areas. This may be the outcome of the joint efforts of university instructors in coursework and classroom teachers in practice to address one of the central aspects of the Year 2000, a major provincial educational reform (Ministry of Education, 1990), begun with the Sullivan Royal Commission on Education and designed with extensive public consultation and teacher involvement.

Table 2
Q-Group 2: Teaching Tasks of Greatest and Least Preparedness

<i>Greatest Preparedness</i>	<i>Z-scores</i>
Integrating learnings from two or more subject areas	2.18
Identifying lesson objectives	1.69
Summarizing a lesson	1.67
Designing review activities	1.62
Planning for the attainment of lesson objectives	1.56
Preparing the classroom setting for instruction	1.37
Developing appropriate means for holding students accountable	1.20
Keeping daily individual achievement records	1.04
<i>Least Preparedness</i>	
Monitoring the entire class while working with a part	-2.19
Correcting student misbehavior unobtrusively	-1.59
Understanding the underlying causes of student behavior Problems	-1.59
Enforcing classroom rules	-1.56
Managing class according to students’ maturity levels	-1.48
Handling most discipline problems in the classroom	-1.42
Relating effectively to parents	-1.35
Giving appropriate feedback to student behavior	-1.19
Promoting student self-discipline	-1.18
Communicating expectations for student learning	-1.04

Table 3
Q-Group 3: Teaching Tasks of Greatest and Least Preparedness

<i>Greatest Preparedness</i>	<i>Z-scores</i>
Identifying lesson objectives	2.18
Stating lesson objectives clearly	1.87
Planning for the attainment of lesson objectives	1.78
Communicating expectations for student learning	1.48
Giving clear directions to students	1.23
Providing students with a rationale for learning	1.19
Integrating learnings from two or more subject areas	1.12
Rewording questions to enhance clarity	1.01
<i>Least Preparedness</i>	
Enforcing classroom rules	-2.15
Promoting student self discipline	-1.86
Developing ways to improve my own teaching	-1.49
Evaluating the appropriateness of controversial materials	-1.41
Maintaining good staff relationships	-1.30
Relating effectively to parents	-1.14
Monitoring the entire class while working with a part	-1.13
Estimating wait time between asking questions and choosing respondents	-1.10
Developing alternate activities to achieve the same objective	-1.05
Determining student grades	-1.00

The tasks for which Group 2 found itself not well prepared were almost exclusively from the classroom management category, some basic and others more complex, as previously described. The group also reported lack of preparedness to communicate expectations for student learning and to relate effectively to parents.

Group 3. This group also consisted of two women and two men. They identified themselves according to the degree of their preparedness for the tasks shown in Table 3.

Some of the tasks that define their strength of preparedness were planning tasks, for example, identifying, stating clearly, and planning for the achievement of objectives. Others, such as communicating expectations, providing a rationale for learning, and giving directions, were drawn from the early and preparatory phases of instruction. Although the integration task was not *the* one for which the group identified itself as most prepared, as was the case with Groups 1 and 2, Group 3 did include that task among those for which it was most prepared.

Patterns among the tasks for which Group 3 was not well prepared were complex. Some were classroom management tasks, again from fairly routine to complex. Others focused on relationships with staff and parents. Single tasks for which preparedness was declared weak were from three areas: questioning, assessment, and planning. Rust (1994) found beginning teachers experienced difficulty both in classroom management, as did all three Q-groups, and in relating to parents as did Q-groups 2 and 3.

Q-Group summary. These three groups can be defined in terms of similarities and differences in the tasks for which they identified themselves as most and least prepared. As shown in Figure 1, only one task, integrating learning from two or more subject areas, appeared in the sets of greatest preparedness tasks for all three Q-groups. Apart from two planning tasks common to Groups 2 and 3, namely identifying lesson objectives and planning for their attainment, there were no other tasks common to any two Q-groups.

There are some elements of uniqueness in the groups. Only Group 1 felt well prepared for the more creative aspects of planning and instruction and for relating effectively to children. Group 2, with strength of preparation in more businesslike and technical tasks, was unique in identifying strength of preparedness in assessment and in a selection of tasks from across the spectrum of interactive teaching. Group 3 was distinct in declaring greater preparedness for a narrower set of tasks focused in the initial aspects of teaching, particularly preactive planning and the preliminary steps in delivering instruction.

Among the tasks for which all three groups found themselves least prepared, as shown in Figure 2, only one task, monitoring the whole class while working with a part of it, was common. Groups 1 and 2 both identified another problem task, understanding the underlying causes of student misbehavior, whereas groups 1 and 3 both expressed difficulty in evaluating

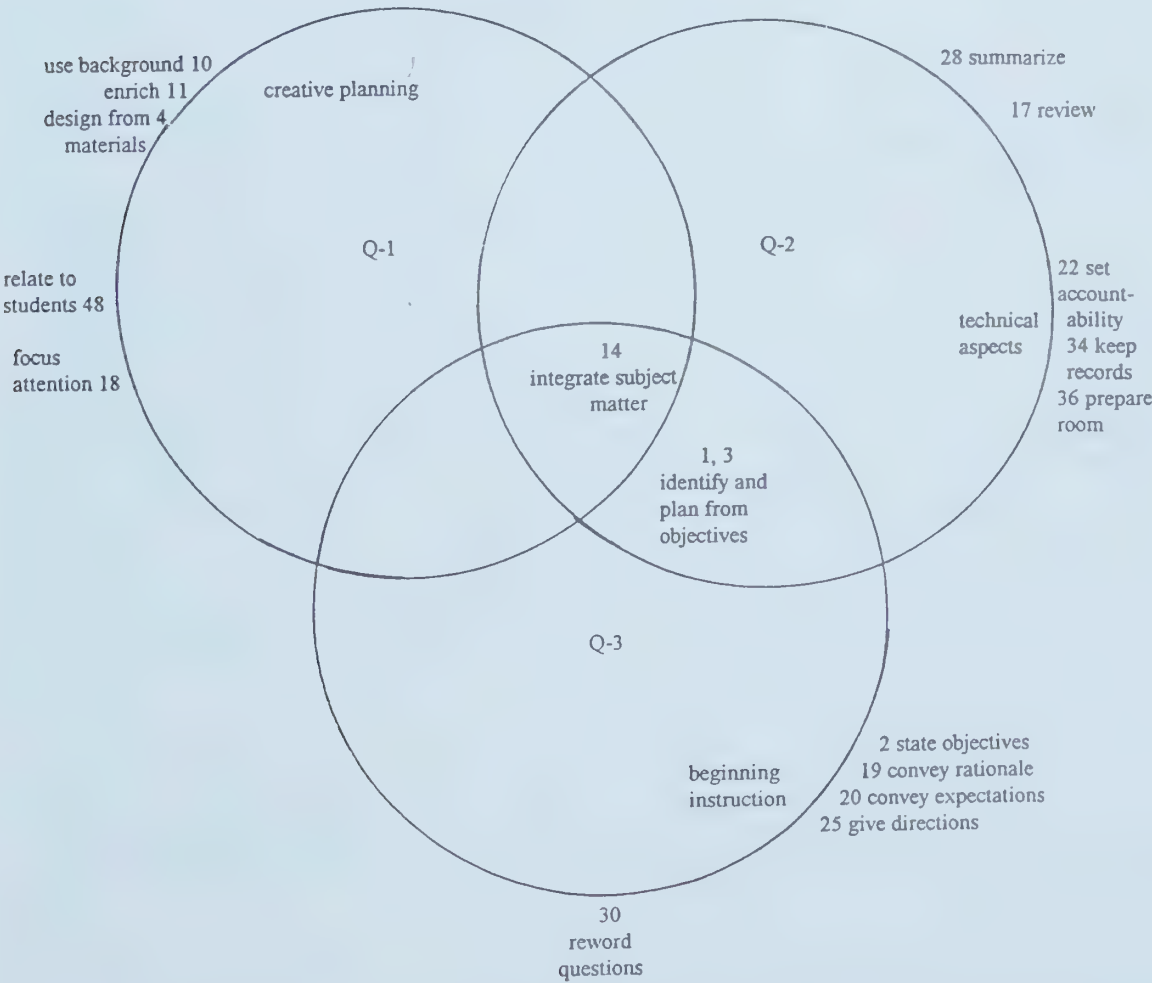


Figure 1. Common and unique tasks of greatest preparedness for three Q-groups.

controversial materials and determining grades. Groups 2 and 3 expressed common difficulty enforcing rules, promoting student self-discipline, and relating to parents. As for distinctiveness based on areas of expressed weakness in preparation, only Group 1 identified assessment as a major problem area, whereas Group 2 expressed greatest difficulty with classroom management. Group 3 included relating to staff and developing means of improving their own teaching in the wider variety of tasks for which it was less well prepared.

If one area of relative weakness in preparedness to teach were to be cited among the three groups, clearly it would be classroom management. Over 50% of the tasks in the three least preparedness sets were from this area. Despite the likely emphasis on management during the extended practicum and some preparation in university coursework, it continued to be a problem for many of the teachers. Covert, Williams, and Kennedy (1991) found that the most pressing professional development needs of beginning Newfoundland teachers were also management focused. McEvoy and Morehead (1987) drew the same conclusion regarding American beginning teachers. Indeed, Hollingsworth (1990) reported that management strategies approached automaticity only in the second or third year of teaching.

Interestingly, some of the participants in this study who continued to substitute teach or had been substitute teachers improved their management strategies in that context. One declared, "Oh, I learned more in my first month

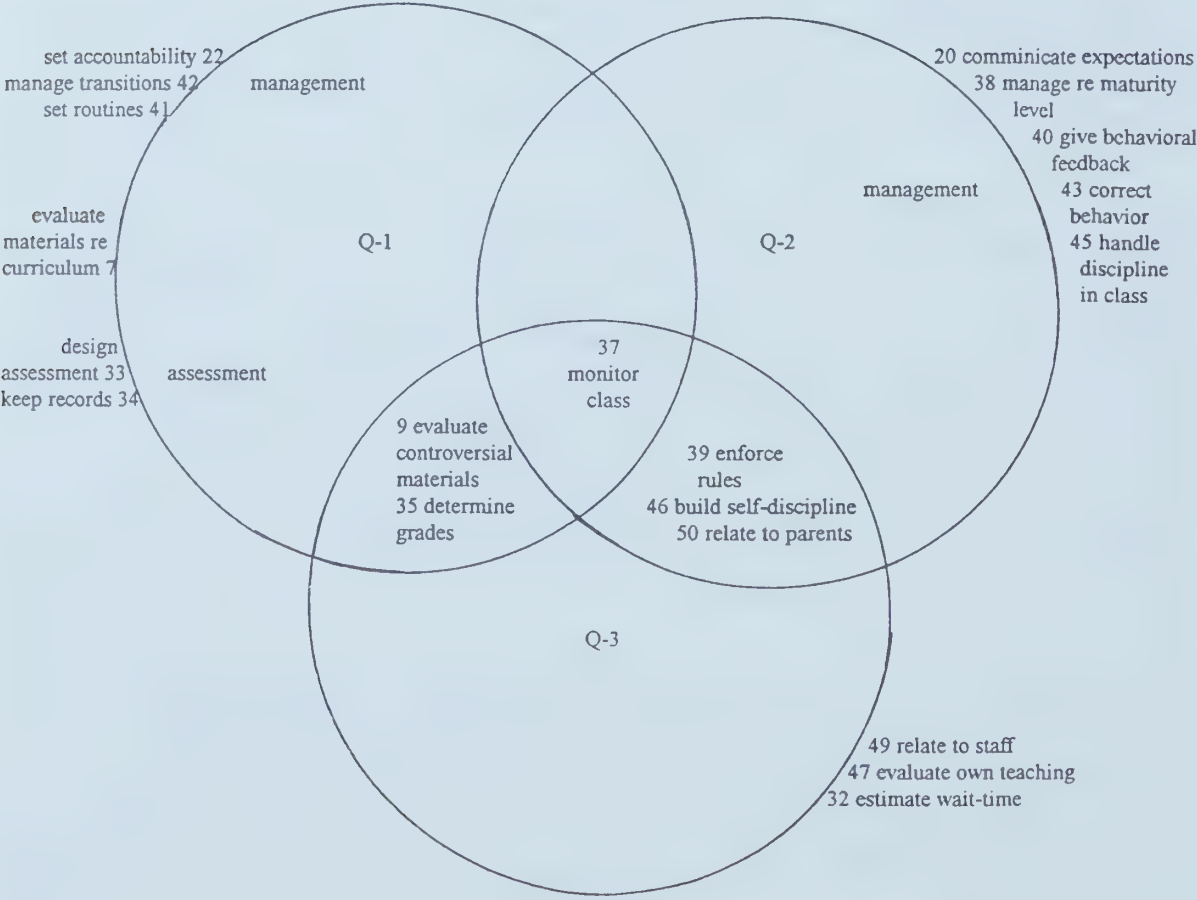


Figure 2. Common and unique tasks of least preparedness for three Q-groups.

of subbing than I did in most of the two years, as far as classroom management. As a sub, you're fair game for the kids. I would say my classroom management is improved, you know, 300%!"

Interview Findings

The structured interview (see Appendix) conducted with each of the teachers between April 28 and June 13, 1992 after the Q-sort had been returned, included 17 questions in three domains, strengths and weaknesses of preparedness to teach and subsequent effects thereof, the experience of first-year teaching, and a retrospective examination of the teacher education program as preparation for teaching.

Strengths and weakness in preparedness to teach. Because interviews were based on the tasks actually placed in the top and bottom two categories of preparedness by each individual, as contrasted with Q-group scores that appear in prior tables, comments in this section pertain to total group reports of preparedness to teach and related effects thereof. As a group, the beginning teachers in this study found they were best prepared for two tasks, integrating learning from two or more subject areas and developing good rapport with children.

Teachers' comments regarding integration, the reinforcement of concepts integral to one subject through their relationship to concepts from other subjects by various means including integrated courses, school wide foci, or community outreach were relatively few, and mainly that it had been practiced in classes and practica. One teacher observed that the integration task was not as difficult as some of the more technical aspects of teaching. Another saw it as a basic characterization of her approach to teaching because it was expected by her pupils, whom she described as creative. It was central in the work of the teacher of handicapped students, who found "no magical textbooks" and soon came to realize that her success depended on her own creative approach to teaching, including her integrative skills.

Establishing rapport with children is something many elementary teachers are able to do well and from which they derive major satisfaction. Elbaz (1992) describes the difficulty educators uneasy about the status of the profession seem to have in acknowledging the centrality of caring in teaching, when child care is often viewed in the wider society as an activity for which no special training is required. She, on the other hand, asserts that attentiveness, caring for difference, and hope comprise the moral voice in teaching, which has been largely ignored by researchers, the tendency being instead to concentrate on aspects of teacher thinking. Some of the teachers' comments on rapport with students were definitional: "more personality than anything ... the kids knowing they can trust you," or "just an ability to listen to their concerns," or "usually being able to respond appropriately; being fairly in tune or being positive." Good rapport with students seemed a valuable asset whether it "came naturally" or was carefully cultivated, whereas integration skills appeared to be an outcome of practice and sometimes the source of considerable pride.

Forty-four percent of the tasks placed in the category of second greatest preparedness focused on planning, and close to 23% on delivery of instruction, together two thirds of the total. For some, planning was rooted in the teacher

education program. One said, "all through the program, I was a meticulous planner," while another stated more directly, "they taught us how to do it, and that was a strength." As students they were enrolled in curriculum and instruction courses in all the elementary school subject areas, and, in addition, during the generic teaching skills course they were required to plan a series of lessons that would comprise if not a complete, at least a partial unit of instruction. It is not surprising, therefore, that these experiences, coupled with a 13-week practicum, in the latter phases of which they were expected to do all the teaching, would build planning strength. It appears that university courses and school experience combined to accomplish this outcome. Faced with teaching seven different classes daily, another teacher attributed being organized to "a little bit of lesson planning."

As a group, these beginning teachers reported being least prepared for classroom management tasks (44% of the tasks included two lowest preparation categories were from this area). No teacher understated the importance of management. In a confident manner, one teacher, who did not identify management as an area of weakness in preparation, speculated on the roots of his success, "My size, my voice, being male, just helps me immensely. I just have to give the evil eye and that can realign them!" With less confidence, another reported, "I'm walking a very fine line between establishing a positive rapport and having effective discipline in the classroom," while another could readily see that her growing understanding of the underlying causes of behavior was enabling her to develop genuine compassion for her students. For the total group, there was continued vigilance and some optimism with respect to management.

Another area of difficulty that gave rise to numerous comments was assessment, which was also one of the topics beginning Newfoundland and American teachers highlighted as needing attention (Covert et al., 1991; McEvoy & Morehead, 1987). Some primary teachers appeared to reject the task of determining grades, stating that they would not be used in the framework of the previously described provincial Year 2000 reform. Said one, "I thought, well, I'm teaching primary, so I don't have to assign grades per se. Now I'm teaching a 3/4 split and, in this school, grade 4s get A,B,C, and D, and I have real a skills mastery program I work very hard on! I can tell you what each child can do and to what degree and how I give that an A and that a B." Her experience prompted the statement, "That was the hardest thing. Nobody at the university taught us how to do that." Another described the incongruity between her university preparation for assessment and reporting and her current school experience as follows, "It was all standardized tests and all sorts of stuff like this, but people are throwing tests away by the carton." She complained further that students "never got an opportunity to look at different kinds of assessment techniques or practice writing report cards." In one setting beginning teachers arranged a full afternoon of consultation on assessment for themselves in an effort to acquire a broader repertoire of skills.

First-year teaching. First-year teaching is explored in this article on the basis of a subset of the questions in the Appendix, questions 1, 9, 3, 13, 16, 14, 15, 12, and 17.

Beginning a new teaching position, one has expectations about the job. Asked about the way their various experiences of first-year teaching met or did not meet their expectations and further what pleased, disappointed, or surprised them, these teachers reported many satisfactions as well as some problems.

Eight of 16 teachers had an employment history including substitute teaching. The four who continued to work as substitute teachers had hoped to find full-time teaching positions, so a basic expectation remained unmet. Still, they continued to pursue that goal, all the while learning as much as possible in the substitute's role, as had others in the study who had subsequently secured positions. Management skills, as mentioned earlier, were frequently augmented, as were instructional skills, while substitute teaching in various classrooms and schools. For example, one teacher said, "It doesn't scare me anymore, because I can do anything. I've taught French, band, music, art, computers, with or without a day plan, with or without a set lesson plan. I don't read music. And, with no day plan, I've taught music for six days as the music specialist in a school." Finding an ordered set of plans on entering classrooms was, however, the more common experience.

Successful substitute teaching is a recognized route to full-time teaching, so these teachers worked hard to be recognized as competent professionals. In one instance, this process led to a position much akin to substituting, a 70% position teaching every regular teacher's class during his or her preparation period; nevertheless, it was a more secure, and more clearly defined employment than being "half a day at two schools and a day at opposite ends of the city."

From the experiences of beginning teachers in regular positions, a pattern emerged. Initially, the euphoria of finding oneself employed under present-day conditions is considerable. "Wow, I'm finally a teacher!" This was tempered by frustrations of different sorts for different people. One teacher vividly described her entry to the classroom, as follows, "My principal just sort of dropped me off and said 'Here you go,' and I looked around. The walls were blank and I didn't like the way the classroom was.... Everything was so squished, and it wasn't my space." She went on to recall her unfamiliarity with the routines and being told nothing by anyone, rather having to ask everything, a contrast to many others who enjoyed generous staff support. At best, induction needs were sporadically met. Frustrations of locating or ordering materials, which also parallels the findings of the Newfoundland study (Covert et al., 1991), became abundantly clear when a teacher recalled saying, "Just a minute. This is a 44-page computer printout, and I have to go through this and tell you what I'm going to need next year? I don't even have a clue what I've got yet!"

Many beginning teachers confirmed their expectations that teaching is hard work, "a draining job." One drew a comparison with the 13-week practicum, saying, "Well now ... you have to psych yourself up for a whole year, and it requires a lot more mental and physical energy to really keep yourself motivated and enthusiastic for that period of time." Several mentioned the limits put on social life by having to work evenings and weekends to keep ahead of students. A few experienced a low ebb around the time of first reports, "Wow, you know this is really a lot of work and, how am I going to get through

the rest of the year?" In response, some met with other classmates every few weeks; others were assisted by staff members, whether they were appointed or self-chosen mentors or helpful colleagues. Gradually the teacher's role became a better fit, prompting the observations, "*I can* do three things at once now!" and "It wasn't as big a nightmare as I thought it would be."

The greatest satisfaction in first-year teaching was working with children; savoring their excitement as they "caught on," seeing them grow and learn to solve their own problems, garnering their respect and cooperation, making them happy, having fun with them, seeing through their eyes, and looking for the smiles on their faces. One teacher summed it up, "You come to school every day, and you know that they really want to learn.... It really inspires me to teach." A little progress on the part of a handicapped learner or a breakthrough with already jaded students were also causes for rejoicing. The enthusiasm and hopefulness of these beginning teachers were apparent in their comments, as were the hope, attentiveness, and caring for difference identified by Elbaz (1992) as evidence of the moral dimension of teaching.

The teachers were also asked, on the basis of their experience, to list what they considered the three most important skills or qualities of a first-year teacher. Classroom management and organizational skills including long and short-term planning, record keeping, and reporting progress were each mentioned by half the teachers. One remarked, "I found it frustrating because there were so many little things to keep track of, and you know, all these little systems." Five teachers included being flexible in their answers. "Go with the flow and turn on a dime," one explained. Also mentioned were resourcefulness, patience, enthusiasm, and interpersonal and communication skills.

The concerns of these teachers, apart from the ever-present one of job security, were as varied as their work situations. Most frequently mentioned was meeting the expectations of the child's next teacher: sending along a learner who is ready for the grade level. They also worried about the possible effects of labeling students, the possibility of serious student misbehavior, "fear of the unexpected," and problems of establishing rapport with parents being the person who must answer their criticisms and try to solve the problems identified; that is, "you're the bottom line." Issues of professionalism and staff politics baffled one who found it "worse than the business world." Being the "new teacher on the block" was a continuing strain for two, one of whom believed there was a constant monitoring of her state of well-being: "Will she make it? How is she standing up under the stress?"

Help-seeking was accomplished in several ways, most frequently through unofficial, self-selected staff mentors (half the group confirmed this pattern). Varying degrees of staff support were reported. Four persons stated they had no help whatsoever, whereas, in addition to the regular series of professional development programs, beginning teachers in one district reported a helpful orientation and dinner for new teachers. A few were allowed time to visit other classrooms. Still, the experiences of these beginning teachers fail to evidence organized, ongoing professional education during first-year teaching, the dawning of the 1990s "decade of induction" (Covert et al., 1991, p. 3). The extreme richness of the support systems available to some teachers is reflected in the statement of one who enjoyed, in addition to a broad base of staff

support and a close self-chosen mentor, a system of family mentoring. She said, "My mother's a teacher, my father, my husband, his mother, my aunts and uncles, my grandmother ... I was not going to be a teacher, but ..." Who could ask for more?

Asked what changes they would make in their own teaching the next year, many in the group hoped to raise the quality of instruction through better preparation, richer resources, and improved classroom management, and some even through a differently organized classroom space. Others intended to be more effective in meeting individual needs, improving the quality of assignments, or introducing more effective accountability procedures. Interestingly, a teacher who characterized himself as being able to plan successfully in an informal fashion, "by the seat of my pants," and divorced himself from formal planning, said, "I've been barely ahead of the eight-ball all year" and set as his goal "advanced planning."

The concepts of image and metaphor have been employed recently (Bulough, Knowles, & Crow, 1991; Cole, 1990; Johnston, 1992) in an attempt to move beyond the representation of teaching as an accumulation of successfully performed tasks and to capture something of its complexity. As a conclusion to the interview, participants were asked to characterize themselves metaphorically, "As beginning teacher, I'm a ____." Three themes, growth, survival, and performing tasks simultaneously were represented in the completions of the open-ended statement. The completions reflecting growth were "a little caterpillar about to be a butterfly," "a baby with much to learn and explore," "a flower ready to bloom," and simply "a learner." The survival responses were, "a survivor," "a packrat," and "a resourceful teacher." The many tasks involved in teaching prompted responses such as "a jack of all trades," "an octopus with eight arms," "a busy bee," and "a social worker cum lunch monitor cum teacher." One teacher pronounced himself simply "a committed educator," another "an entertainer," and still another "a canoe on an ocean, isolated, alone, floating." Together the metaphors comprise a rich characterization of first-year teaching.

The teacher education program as preparation. In this section, questions 2, 8, 10, 11, 7, and 6 are discussed in turn. When asked to contrast first-year teaching with the experience of practicum, teachers credited the September practicum with preparing them to begin a school year. Practicum experiences helped them plan instruction, gain acquaintance with specific content and methods, and manage student behavior. Few teachers remained in their practicum schools. The change of locale, therefore, frequently resulted in altered socioeconomic conditions, and sometimes cultural differences, both of which required adaptation. Although there was a newly found freedom in owning one's own class and not being so closely monitored, this was tempered with being "the new teacher on the block," and the full pressure of responsibility for the progress of individual students was recognized as a dimension of the more intense relationship with parents.

Asked to describe a teacher education assignment that stood out as very worthwhile, most of the teachers cited practical, immediately applicable ones that became rich resources, for example, a science unit on ice cubes, a project on fairy tales or a mathematics unit on integers, each complete with information

about where to obtain additional resources. One teacher valued having learned to play an instrument, whereas another appreciated having acquired skill in oral presentation. Two others reported having completed projects that produced deeper understandings of children from varied backgrounds or children at one or another stage of development. Having an opportunity to tutor an individual child was also valued highly. Teachers felt that the skills learned as well as the products created in the form of units, lessons, or plans were immediately useful.

One way to capture an individual's impression of the importance of features or qualities of an experience of which he or she has been a part is to ask how that person would plan a similar experience for others. So beginning teachers were asked the qualities they would consider important in the partnership and the experiences they would emphasize for a student teacher were they to become school advisors or sponsor teachers. They described the qualities of any good relationship: trust, flexibility, open communication, and clearly focused expectations, all of which would be desirable, they believed, in the student teacher's relationship with his or her school advisor. Some recalled tense relationships with cooperating teachers as documented elsewhere (Friesen-Poirier, 1992; Guillaume & Rudney, 1993; Lasley & Applegate, 1985).

Experiences such as developing one's own teaching style and progressing individually toward full responsibility for teaching, which they chose as important to emphasize in working with a student teacher, underscored the existence of individual differences among student teachers (Guillaume & Rudney, 1993; Powell, 1992) and cast some doubt on the adequacy of an apprenticeship mode of teacher education¹ where a student apprentice is expected to assume the teaching style modeled, which may or may not be appropriate. In advocating student teachers engage in all facets of teaching and participate in extracurricular activities, they further emphasized the need for varied preparation. They also stressed the importance of developing good management skills, organizing effectively, and improving instructional techniques. They looked on planning in partnership, keeping a journal, and observing other teachers as avenues to learning more about teaching.

Similarly, they were asked to imagine a course they might design and offer in the preservice teacher education program, describing its emphases and giving it a title. Some emphasized resource acquisition, for example, "Building Your Materials" or "Units in a Bag"; others would develop survival guides, for example, "Survival Tips for Subs" or "Surviving First-Year Teaching." Overviews of effective teaching were suggested, as was an exposé of possible pitfalls, "A Year in Teaching: The Truth." Other possible offerings focused on time management, the rhythmic cycles of school time, parenting skills, multiculturalism, and the expectations held for staff members. Without exception their suggestions were practical.

Asked if there were problems or issues not sufficiently addressed in the teacher education program, the teachers raised three: beginning the school year, accessing accurate information about employment prospects, and ensuring exposure to a variety of teaching models and styles. The latter is necessary if teachers construct their expertise on the basis of case-by-case response to the

problems they encounter in a “situated cognition” mode discussed by Lampert and Clark (Sparks-Langer & Colton, 1991).

Responses to a request for two or three important suggestions to improve the teacher education program varied. Some highlighted the importance of teaching experience in the backgrounds of instructors and faculty advisors, hence the importance of including classroom teachers in the instructional team. Others dealt with specific program features, for example, preserving and lengthening the September practicum to a full term. It was frequently suggested that practical instruction be increased and theoretical content reduced. In addition, some specific inclusions were proposed: report card writing, skills for substitute teaching, and more coverage of classroom management, a precise mirror of the findings of the earlier mentioned study of the professional development needs of Newfoundland first-year teachers (Covert et al., 1991) and also in keeping with Rust’s (1994) description of the unmet expectations of beginning teachers.

Conclusion

The teachers in this study analyzed their preparedness to teach revealing three patterns of strength of preparedness (Q-groups). They also described the satisfactions and problems of first-year teaching and revisited their teacher education program, making suggestions for improvements. Conclusions are presented in three sections corresponding to the three areas explored in the interviews. The first section also includes conclusions relating to the Q-group findings.

Establishing Basic Skills

First, one might conclude on the basis of tasks for which the three Q-groups found themselves well prepared that these beginning teachers conform to a considerable degree to Berliner’s (1988) description of the novice teacher as someone whose attention is necessarily directed to laying the groundwork for professional decision making through learning the basic strategies for classroom management and instruction. Reynolds (1992) made the same point in describing the difficulties of beginning teachers as a function of an understandable “lack of well-developed instructional routines and a meagre understanding of content-specific pedagogy” (p. 24). Near the end of a year of teaching preceded by a 13-week practicum, these teachers expressed greatest confidence in their abilities to plan and prepare for instruction and to perform a limited number of routine instructional tasks. Their abilities to reflect on various instructional strategies, weigh contextual variables, and choose the best procedures to deal with more complex instructional or management problems had not developed to the same degree. Many of their least preparedness tasks require such deliberation; for example, managing according to the maturity level of students, developing student self-discipline, evaluating materials and one’s own teaching, handling discussions, correcting misbehavior unobtrusively, and giving behavioral feedback. Expert teachers, however, also seek to improve their execution of such tasks, so it does not follow necessarily that the teacher education program at UBC should be criticized for failing to develop these complex skills. It would seem, rather, that the problems of the teacher education program at UBC as identified by these teachers’ areas of least

preparedness are similar to those encountered by other beginning teachers as identified in the induction needs survey done in Newfoundland (Covert et al., 1991) and the follow-up study of graduates of Alberta teacher education programs (Miklos & Greene, 1987). Reynolds' (1992) review of the research on competent beginning teaching suggests that reasonable expectations of beginning teachers include being able to:

- Plan lessons that enable students to relate new learning to prior understanding and experiences;
- Develop rapport and personal interactions with students;
- Establish and maintain rules and routines that are fair and appropriate to students;
- Arrange the physical and social conditions in the classroom in ways that are conducive to learning and that fit the academic task;
- Represent and present subject matter in ways that enable students to relate new learnings to prior understanding and that help students develop metacognitive strategies;
- Assess student learning using a variety of measurement tools and adapt instruction according to the results; and
- Reflect on their own actions and students' responses in order to improve their teaching. (p. 12)

The participants in this study reported strength of preparation for some of these tasks such as planning and development of student rapport and weakness of preparation for others, particularly assessment and management.

Perhaps there is a case for striving to meet these basic needs in preservice teacher education and planning appropriately timed, further professional development programs to remedy the difficulties experienced by beginning teachers. The present approach to induction is uneven.

Induction: The Luck of the Draw

Learning to teach is admittedly an idiosyncratic process; different teachers have different induction needs. There is, however, enough commonality to suggest a helpful menu of services and experiences for beginners. Cole's (1990) identification of the needs for planning time, readily available resources and materials, planned staff support, peer support, and opportunity for socialization into school norms and routines are endorsed in this study, where some teachers were found to be generously supported and others were not. Some of the deficits they identified could have been addressed in the teacher education program, and the teachers were not reticent in suggesting program changes and improvements.

Believe Me! Suggestions for Teacher Educators

The first-year teachers' suggestions to teacher educators were:

1. Classroom management requires more attention. Teachers recognized the need for both information about management and experience in implementing good practice.
2. Assessment of learning including writing reports to parents also needs greater emphasis.
3. Exposure to more teaching models and various classes would be preferable to practicum experience in a single setting.

4. Information on preparation for substitute teaching, employment seeking procedures, and realistic job prospects is required.
5. Practicality should be sought both directly in coursework and through continuing to include classroom teachers in the instructional team and seeking faculty advisors who have school experience.

What response can be made to these suggestions? Teacher educators may be loath to seek or endorse such feedback from program graduates to guide their work. They claim to know what teachers need and, moreover, they may be neither willing nor able to supply recipes for teaching, but committed instead to providing ideas on the basis of which to deliberate on decisions that must be made within the context of teaching. Both preservice and inservice teachers press for practicality. Yet teacher educators advance “research-based rigour as the fundamental basis of initial teacher education” (McNally, et al., 1994, p. 229); it is the prerequisite to reflection. As observed by Goodson (1994):

To date much of the research employed in teacher training has been developed from a foundational disciplinary discourse—philosophical, psychological, historical, sociological—far removed from teachers. It has been produced by scholars writing within their own contexts and resonates with their own career concerns in a “publish or perish” environment. The audience is mainly academic peers who are addressed through scholarly journals. In the profoundest sense, the knowledge is, from the teachers’ point of view, decontextualized. (p. 33)

Although program graduates’ perceptions of their preparedness to teach and conclusions regarding program strengths and weaknesses are not as strong as pupil learning gains as a guide to program design and change, we cannot afford to ignore them.

Note

1. Schools now play an enlarged role in initial teacher education in the United Kingdom (McNally, Cope, Inglis, & Stronach, 1994).

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Appendix
Interview Questions

1. Has your first year of teaching been what you anticipated? Explain.
2. In what ways has your first teaching position been similar to the extended practicum? Different?
3. As a result of your experience, what do you see as the three most important skills for a first-year teacher?
4. These are the Q-sort tasks you identified as the ones for which you were most prepared. How has this affected you?
5. These are the Q-sort tasks you identified as the ones for which you were least prepared. How has this lack of preparedness affected you? How have you compensated?
6. From your perspective as a first-year teacher, make what you consider to be the two or three most important suggestions concerning improvement of the teacher education program.
7. Are there problems or issues which have arisen this year which were not addressed in your program and, to your mind, should have been? What are they?
8. Was there a particular assignment which stands out as having been very worthwhile in your teacher education program? What made it so?
9. Which component, activity or feature of your present teaching position gives you most satisfaction? Why?
10. If you could be a school advisor or sponsor teacher next year, what experiences would you emphasize for your student teachers?
11. If you could offer a course for preservice teachers, what would it be called? What would it emphasize?
12. What changes do you plan in your own teaching next year? Why?
13. What, apart from job security, is your biggest concern as a new teacher?
14. Is it also a concern of peers who, like you, are also beginning teaching?
15. Have you a mentor? If so, is he or she matched or self-selected, and how have you been helped by this person?
16. What kinds of help have been made available by the school or the district in which you teach? How have you utilized these resources?
17. In conclusion, is there anything you wish to add to the discussion we have had? A metaphor perhaps? As a first-year teacher, I'm a ____.

Book Reviews

Educational Reform Revisited: From William James to Siegfried Engelmann

War Against the School's Academic Child Abuse. S. Engleman. Portland, OR: Halcyon House.

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In the field of educational theory and practice there are many fads and recycled ideas that appear every decade or so. When I was in college in the 1960s, education classes included such popular buzzwords as the whole-word method, the new math, open education, values clarification, performance contracting, and programmed learning. In the 1990s these terms are seldom used and a new collection of buzzwords now includes such terms as whole language, reflective teaching, manipulative math, multicultural education, cooperative learning, intrinsic motivation, learner verification, and computer-assisted instruction. An astute observer may deduce that the name changes are only old wine in new bottles. What is less obvious is that all of the above have yet to be shown to be effective in accelerating students' educational performance.

Calls to reform the educational system in North America go back at least as far as a century. William James, in his *Talks to Teachers* in 1892, tried to persuade educators to use advances in psychology to implement changes in the classroom. John Dewey, in his *Democracy and Education* in 1916, tried to show the importance of educating the populace in order for a democratic society to function. James and Dewey advocated using research as evidence for what works, and both suggested ways to use the schools to provide free and equal opportunity for social advancement. These ideas are still hotly debated and unresolved issues in educational circles today.

For the last half-century, a small number of books have appeared each decade that have revolutionized the way we think about education, so much so that they have become classics. A short list might include the following titles:

<i>Decade</i>	<i>Title, Date, Author</i>
1940s	<i>How to solve it</i> , 1945, Polya
1950s	<i>The art of teaching</i> , 1950, Highet
	<i>Why Johnny can't read</i> , 1955, Flesch
	<i>Handbook of educational objectives</i> , 1956, Bloom
1960s	<i>The process of education</i> , 1960, Bruner
	<i>Compulsory mis-education and the community of scholars</i> , 1962, Goodman
	<i>Why children fail</i> , 1964, Holt
	<i>Equality of educational opportunity</i> , 1966, Coleman
	<i>Learning to read: The great debate</i> , 1967, Chall
	<i>The technology of teaching</i> , 1968, Skinner
	<i>Freedom to learn</i> , 1969, Rogers

- 1970s *Crisis in the classroom*, 1970, Silberman
 Deschooling society, 1970, Illich
 Must we educate? 1973, Bereiter
 Why Johnny can't add, 1973, Kline
- 1980s *On learning to read*, 1981, Bettelheim & Zelan
 Why Johnny still can't read, 1981, Flesch
 High school: A report on secondary education in America, 1983, Boyer
 The closing of the American mind, 1987, Bloom
 Cultural literacy: What every American needs to know, 1988, Hirsch

Although many of these books were and are controversial, they have so stimulated our traditional thinking about educational techniques and values that they are required college reading for many of today's future school administrators and teachers. For the 1990s, the most controversial book may be Siegfried Engelmann's latest polemic entitled *War Against the School's Academic Child Abuse* (1992). If the title doesn't shock you, the contents certainly will.

Engelmann has a long history of bucking the educational establishment. With a BA in philosophy (with an emphasis in logic) from the University of Illinois at Champaign/Urbana as his only academic credential, he has gone on to become one of the most influential advocates for educational reform in the last three decades. Precocious as a child, he was chosen to participate in the Whiz Kids program at the University of Chicago back in the 1950s but declined due to the long commute involved from the suburbs. After college he worked in a variety of jobs for which he had no specific training, such as leasing and drilling oil wells, managing automobile agencies, editing a science encyclopedia, and working in an advertising agency. During this last job, he had a contract with a toy company and was researching how often ads should appear on television before children would become saturated or lose interest, an area we now call stimulus salience. Finding little published research, he designed some experiments himself using preschool kids from his neighborhood. This experience led him to the conclusion that children think quite logically if they are given consistent explanations. He then devised a program to teach four-year-olds how to calculate simple algebraic equations, such as finding the area of a rectangle, and sent an audiotape of the teaching sessions to the Institute for Research on Exceptional Children at the University of Illinois. At the time in 1964, Carl Bereiter was in charge of an academic preschool for disadvantaged children. Bereiter was so impressed that he hired Engelmann as a research assistant to work on the project.

Those were the days of the beginning Head Start programs in the United States in which children would spend much time on nonverbal activities such as puzzles, pasting, and coloring. The Zeitgeist of the time was the horticultural metaphors of Jean Piaget and Arnold Gesell who felt that maturation would take place slowly and in discrete developmental stages that could not be rushed. Consequently, both Bereiter and Engelmann were surprised when they compared the language abilities of disadvantaged black preschoolers with those of gifted children of university faculty. Although both groups of children could use language to get along socially, the former group could not use language to express ideas. The result was the development of a remedial

language program that essentially taught English as a second language, avoiding word definitions per se while emphasizing many of the logical words used in following instructions such as *not, or, and, all, some, only, and if-then*. The sequence of teaching concepts was to juxtapose a wide range of positive examples of a concept contrasted with non-examples of concepts in order to define the concept boundary. These presentations were innovative compared with traditional teaching lessons that presented too narrow a range of positive concepts that encouraged undergeneralization, and not enough non-examples of concepts that induced overgeneralization of concepts (Markle, 1969).

In order to catch up with their more advantaged peers, it would be necessary to speed up the pace of their learning to more than double its present rate. To achieve this accelerated instructional pace, both teacher's explanations and student responding had to proceed rapidly. Scripted teaching lessons that were consistent with only one logical answer were devised and students were taught to respond in unison at least every 10 seconds. Specific correction procedures were used that made all students practice the error discrimination, even if only one student made the mistake. The group could not move forward until all students had mastered the concepts.

The book describing their program, *Teaching Disadvantaged Children in the Preschool* (Bereiter & Engelmann, 1966), was attacked on all angles by professional educators (e.g., Kanner, 1967). Compared with traditional teaching methods, Engelmann and Bereiter's tactics of using fast-paced verbal drill and repetition exercises had all the charm of an army boot camp during basic training. Educators labeled them as the two Young Turks (not an ethnic description of either; Engelmann is of German-Russian descent) who used pressure cooker methods for four-year-olds that resulted in children being subjected to stress and regimentation that resulted in destruction of creativity. Sociolinguists claimed that Bereiter and Engelmann didn't understand "black English" or know the difference between thinking and speaking (Pines, 1966). In spite of these criticisms, these students also showed an average IQ gain of 30 points in just 2 years (Engelmann, 1970). An early account of this program was published in Canada (Engelmann, 1967).

Bereiter and Engelmann then went on to develop the famous DISTAR programs (an acronym for Direct Instructional Programs for Teaching and Remediation) to teach disadvantaged children reading, language, and math skills in the early elementary grades. When Bereiter left to take a position at the University of Toronto (where he later helped develop the *Open Court* reading programs), Engelmann aligned himself with a behavioral psychologist, Wesley Becker. Together they entered DISTAR as a contestant against a dozen other educational models in *Project Follow-Through*, the largest United States government funded quasi-experimental research program in the history of education. The project was supposed to follow up on the educational initiatives with preschool children who had completed Head Start programs and were now entering elementary school. It was set up as a horse race, and the winner was supposed to serve as a model for effective practice for future federal funding. Eventually, 75,000 children from low-income families were served in 170 communities in the primary grades of K-3 at a cost of \$1 billion. Results showed that the Engelmann and Becker Direct Instruction (DI) model was far superior

to all other models in basic skills, cognitive skills, and affective measures (Becker & Carnine, 1981). However, because the DI model contradicted the educational philosophy of the time and due to political considerations, funding was not pulled from the ineffective programs and the results were only reluctantly published in *The Congressional Record*.

When the University of Illinois refused to let them be involved in training teachers, Engelmann and Becker moved their research program to the University of Oregon in the late 1970s. There they were involved in teacher training for both regular and special education teachers, supervised student research in a doctoral program in special education and at the Oregon Research Institute, and published many curricular materials with their own Engelmann-Becker Corporation. Along with Carnine and others, they continue to publish results of the effectiveness of their instructional materials and have now developed a comprehensive theory of instruction that has received little notice in educational circles (Engelmann & Carnine, 1991). Engelmann et al. have since developed a basal reading and math program for grades 1-6, additional remedial programs for upper elementary and junior high students, tactile stimulation techniques to teach deaf and hard of hearing students, videodisc instructional programs to supplement high school math and physics courses, generalized compliance training for students with severe behavior problems, and teacher training workshops. The Association for Direct Instruction was founded in 1980 and publishes a quarterly newsletter, a dozen or so books, has DI special interest groups in professional organizations (e.g., The Association of Behavior Analysis), and sponsors numerous teacher training inservices in North American and around the world including Australia and New Zealand.

At the point in his career when most academicians are content to rest on their laurels, Engelmann continues to battle the educational establishment, from state boards of education to textbook publishers to professional organizations. An earlier book, *Your child can succeed!* (Engelmann, 1975), attacked the traditional teacher training programs in schools of education. Its purpose was to urge parents to advocate effective instructional methods and curricular materials for their own children instead of allowing the schools to label children as unteachable. His latest book is an attempt to describe in plain English why he is so frustrated in convincing those in power to think logically and rationally and not depend on past biases or political convenience. Besides the United States federal government, Engelmann singles out for his attack the State Board of Education in California, the International Reading Association, the National Council of Teachers of English, the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, and most educational publishers of basal series in reading and math.

Engelmann documents his legal battles in Chapters 4-7 with the California State Board of Education who have a state-wide textbook adoption process. Engelmann's basal series, *DISTAR Reading Mastery*, did not make the short list of the Board's recommended basal texts, despite more than adequate proof of its effectiveness. The reason was that the Board had adopted the philosophy of the whole-language initiative that stresses comprehension over phonics. The California adoption process is a "charade" according to Engelmann because they don't follow their own rules and make up new ones to suit their purposes.

California's Curriculum Commission rejected Engelmann's *DISTAR Reading Mastery* series so that it could not be considered for adoption anywhere in the state. However, for the 102 comments made by the commission, "73 are factually incorrect," and most of the rest were "just plain dumb." Engelmann is incredulous that the media doesn't pick up on their flagrant inaccuracies, misinterpretation of data, and absurd criteria because state curriculum decisions have a broad impact on society.

Whole-language approaches are pushed by Kenneth Goodman, who is a past president of the International Reading Association (IRA). His view is that literary meaning will provide the context for which beginning readers can guess at words they don't know and that phonics should be learned incidentally and not systematically taught. Much energy in the book is spent on ridiculing Goodman's theories that appeal to what Engelmann eloquently describes as "brain-dead logic." An example, from one of Goodman's quotes describing the process of reading, is as follows:

Early in our miscue research, we concluded that a story is easier to read than a page, a page easier to read than a paragraph, a paragraph easier than a sentence, a sentence easier than a word, and a word easier than a letter. Our research continues to support this conclusion and we believe it to be true.
(Engleman, 1992, p. 30)

Engelmann's sarcastic refutation is as follows: "How could the kid read a sentence without being able to read the component words? (p. 30)" Unfortunately, attempts to reform the system by challenging the Board's decision making process or taking the Board to court were ineffectual. As a result the Board was free to choose any program it wanted regardless of the existence of any supporting proof that a particular curriculum actually works.

The National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) is lambasted for recommending that problem solving skills should be taught before computational skills; for stressing the use of manipulatives rather than equations; for emphasizing exploratory experiences rather than number facts. According to Engelmann, the NCTM then had the audacity to promote a new set of math standards in 1989 without ever field testing its recommendations first. One math puzzle suggested as a learning activity by the *Standards* is as follows:

Who am I?
I have three or four sides.
All my angles are equal.
My sides are not equal. (p. 113)

Engelmann responds that there is no three-sided figure in traditional geometry that meets this criteria. The *Standards* also describes mathematics as an "ill-structured discipline" which implies that argument and debate are natural consequences of math interpretations. Finally the *Standards* first suggests that all its recommendation should be used nationally in math instruction and then says that pilot studies should be carried out to confirm its effectiveness. This is likened to the Federal Drug Administration (FDA) recommending distribution of a particular drug before it was first put through a rigorous trial of tests in a pilot study (Carnine, 1992).

Another example of educational illogic is taken from California's *Language-Arts Framework* in which the following teaching suggestions are given on how to teach spelling:

[The students] only spell when they write, and the only words they need to know how to spell are the words needed in writing; therefore, one of the best instructional strategies is to generate students' spelling lists from their writings. (p. 43)

Engelmann cogently points out that this language-experience strategy neglects to teach words that will be needed for future writing or even on present writing in different topic areas.

Other chapters criticize textbook publishers for not field-testing their curricular materials before releasing them, colleges of education for not teaching proper instructional sequencing and correction procedures, and businesses for not recognizing what schools need to change in order to get results. Engelmann goes on to label the system in North America as "sick because the vast majority of people in it—from educational researchers to teachers—lack technical expertise of the single aspect of the schools that justifies their existence—instruction (p. 13)." Although Engelmann admits that no one agency can be specifically faulted, his vision is that true reform will come "only when informed citizens become educationally literate and place demands on the schools, [U.S.] Feds, publishers, and colleges of education to put their actions where their rhetoric is" (p. 13).

The book is readable with little of the jargon or convoluted arguments typical of many educational reform treatises. Engelmann's training in basic philosophical logic is invaluable as he tries to decipher the hidden meaning and agendas in much of educational policy and planning. He is most livid when he describes the "outrageous ... sorting-machine philosophy that has characterized U.S. public education from its inception" (p. 58). He asserts that it is incompatible with intelligent instruction. His own philosophy is quite simple: "If the kid hasn't learned, the teacher hasn't taught" (p. 62).

There are some ad hominem arguments that slip through, such as Engelmann stating that "possibly the most fascinating of arguments presented by the Goodmans and other whole-language activists is that nobody laughs at them" (p. 32). School administrators are set up as preaching a "rhetoric ... of avant-garde approaches (while) practising belch from the Model T sorting machine" (p. 67). Educational theorists are called "sophistic metaphysicists who persevere on theory and have a gingerbread house notion of how kids should learn" (S. Engelmann, personal communication, June 6, 1994). In general, he scoffs at educators who are often not experts in teaching kids, training teachers, or organizing schools. In fact, Engelmann will challenge any of his detractors with a public debate by taking any 10 children, dividing them into two groups of five each, with each debater teaching a concept within a time limit. So far, he has had few takers.

The book ends on a somewhat optimistic note with the last three chapters devoted to how to change the system. It won't be easy but if the nation is serious about educational reform then these components are necessary: (a) assessment to permit timely identification of problems; (b) the program must support quality-control using teacher-trainers; (c) the trainer must have the

authority to give principals and teachers assignments; and (d) salary increases and promotions must be based on meeting or exceeding expectations. In Engelmann's ideal system the schools would operate as follows:

The role of the board would be to state how student performance should change. The administration would provide honest and timely evaluations of the changes that are occurring. The public would receive honest and timely information about the status of students in the system and information about progress. (p. 175)

The focus of the reform, however, would still be the curriculum because "teachers don't teach without content" (p. 176). The only way to guarantee change occurs when the "administrators must suffer when the kids fail" (p. 181). In this sense, Engelmann blames the decision makers in education and sees the teachers as much victims as the students. He claims that nested accountability starts at the top: "If the superintendent's job is on the line, the district will tend to be much more scrupulous about finding out what works" (pp. 181-182).

The analogy is made between the superintendent and a coach for an athletic team: if the team isn't winning, the coach better try different strategies or he won't be kept on for the next season. The playing field rather than rhetoric decides the outcome.

The end of the book lists six rules of evidence the public should demand of its schools:

- 1) Don't install an approach unless you have substantial reason to believe that it will result in improved student performance.
 - 2) Don't install an approach without making projections about student learning.
 - 3) Don't install any practice without monitoring it and comparing performance in the classroom with projections.
 - 4) Don't install an approach without having a back-up plan.
 - 5) Don't maintain failed plans.
 - 6) Don't blame parents, kids, or other extraneous factors if the plan fails.
- (pp. 182-188)

The absence of these details accounts for many of the problems in education today. Instead of global reforms that sound good but accomplish little, a specific quality-control system such as this would actually give teachers more autonomy if they could prove that what they were doing works. Engelmann ends his book with some suggested political and legal methods to make schools change. He also mentions a new children's advocacy group, the International Institute of Advocacy for School Children (but doesn't give an address), which has been formed to combat the academic child abuse, defined as "the use of practices that cause unnecessary failure of foundation skills" (p. 67).

Educational reformers have always had an uphill battle. Early reformers went more on hunches and intuition and tried the persuasion of case examples as circumstantial evidence. Today's meta-analytic studies are more scientific but no more easily accepted. William James (1958) used to say that any new idea in education went through three cycles: it ain't true, it ain't new, and we knew it all along. The modern counterpart in educational reform is that it takes three decades to achieve professional respectability: the first decade—your

results aren't valid and your assumptions are wrong; the second decade—the results may be valid but not for the reasons you claim; the third decade—the results and assumptions appear to be valid, but it's just different terms for what we've been saying all along! With any luck, Engelmann's 30 years of being cast out into the educational wilderness may finally be coming to an end.

Despite its title this is not just an angry book. It is more a plea for educators to act rationally and morally in making true reforms work. It is a call to the public to become literate in educational policies and to protest when they are abused. Perhaps when that happens, the constant recycling of educational ideas and periodic calls for reform will coalesce into a quality-control system that avoids victimization of students and is accountable to parents. Only then will education meet John Dewey's goal of becoming the vanguard of democracy. In this sense, William James' vision of knowledge learned as the means for making a better world is of such importance that educational reform is truly "the moral equivalent of war."

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Understandable Ideas That Are Worth Understanding

The Unschooled Mind: How Children Think and How Schools Should Teach.
Howard Gardner. New York: Basic Books, 1991, 303 pages.

Reviewed by *Robert Frender, University of Alberta*

When the astronauts of the former Soviet Union were the first into space, the American educational system was held accountable for deficiencies in its scientific and mathematical training. Recently, as the performances of both the American and Canadian economies have declined relative to those of our former Cold War allies and current New World Order competitors, our schools are being held accountable for failing to inculcate the skills and attitudes needed to compete in the new global economy. Not only have our educational institutions and our professional educators been under attack for most of my life, but the breadth and intensity of these critiques have also been steadily escalating. Allegedly, our schools are producing citizens who are mathematically inept and scientifically ignorant; both literally and culturally illiterate; either morally degenerate or saturated with Eurocentric values; historically and geographically unaware; spiritually and aesthetically deficient; and physically unfit.

With so many failings to be remedied, it is not surprising that a tremendous variety of solutions have been proposed. Some prescriptions involve more of what used to be done or more of what is currently being done: longer school days; longer school years; curricula that are refocused on the basics; abandonment of whole-language instruction; minimum competence tests; and standardized testing programs to monitor achievement. Other remedies require that different things be done: cooperative learning; inclusive education; educational vouchers; charter schools; "new" types of educational assessment—authentic assessment and performance assessment; nationally standardized educational goals, nationally standardized curricula to foster these goals, and nationally standardized testing programs to monitor the achievement of the goals; and reconceived teacher education programs. In Alberta both old and new ideas are also emerging: to stem the tides of moral degeneracy, the Mem-

ber of the Legislative Assembly from Red Deer South, Victor Doerksen, has proposed removing John Steinbeck's classic *Of Mice and Men* from the classroom. (That this prescription to alleviate moral impropriety might have some unintended side effects on cultural literacy was perhaps not envisioned by the honorable MLA.)

For much of his adult life, the distinguished developmental psychologist Howard Gardner has been exploring the human mind in a series of stylishly written books: *The Shattered Mind*; *The Quest for Mind*; *Art, Mind, and Brain*; *Frames of Mind*; and *The Mind's New Science*. In an earlier book, *To Open Minds: Chinese Clues to the Dilemma of Contemporary Education*, and in the book being reviewed here, *The Unschooled Mind*, Gardner has focused his synthesizing mind on how education can be reformed to better prepare young minds.

Although not dismissing many of the familiar and prevailing critiques, Gardner immediately captured my interest by identifying a generally unrecognized failing of our schools, one that I believe is more fundamental and more serious:

Even when school appears to be successful, even when it elicits the performances for which it has apparently been designed, it typically fails to achieve its most important missions.... even students who have been well trained and who exhibit all the overt signs of success—faithful attendance at good schools, high grades and high test scores, accolades from their teachers—typically do not display an adequate understanding of the materials and concepts with which they have been working. (p. 3)

For Gardner there is one fundamental criterion that our schools should aspire to achieve: "an education that yields greater understanding in students" (p. 145). The understandings of which he speaks are the disciplinary understandings of the humanities, the arts, and the sciences. Gardner contends that these are humanity's most important cognitive achievements and that "it is necessary to come to know these understandings if we are to be fully human, to live in our time, to be able to understand it to the best of our abilities, and to build upon it" (p. 11). And Gardner disturbingly suggests that even after many years of formal education the powerful misconceptions and stereotypes of the unschooled mind remain unaltered for the majority of students. The principle issue he addresses in *The Unschooled Mind* is "Why do members of a species who master certain concepts and skills so readily exhibit so much difficulty in obtaining the skills and understandings that school at its best strives to provide?" (p. 19)

In the first part of his three-part presentation Gardner synthesizes developmental psychology's current understanding of how the intuitive, undisciplined understanding of the unschooled five-year-old mind emerges. Although these powerful ideas initially serve their creators well in a variety of contexts, they are ultimately limiting. However, these remarkably resilient ideas often prove resistant to all but the best-conceived educational interventions.

In the second part, which focuses on understanding educational institutions, Gardner first addresses what should be taught and how it might be taught, outlining in both instances the educational options that are available. He argues that we should endeavor to inculcate "a rich understanding of the

concepts and principles underlying bodies of knowledge" (p. 117), and that to achieve this goal we should adopt a "transformative" approach—one in which:

the teacher serves as a coach or facilitator, trying to evoke certain qualities or understandings in the students. By posing certain problems, creating certain challenges, placing the student in certain situations, the teacher hopes to encourage the student to work out his own ideas, test them in various ways, and further his own understanding. (p. 119)

In the remainder of part two, using many engaging and accessible examples, Gardner thoroughly documents the misconceptions in mathematics and the natural sciences as well as the stereotypes and simplifications in the humanities and social sciences that formal schooling often fails to supplant with the hard-earned understandings of disciplined inquiry. Here is one tantalizing example: 70 percent of students who had completed a college course in mechanics gave the same naive answer as untrained students to the following problem—"What forces are acting on a coin that has been tossed straight up in the air and has reached the midway point of its upward trajectory?" (If you have any doubts about your own level of understanding, see page 3 of Gardner's book!)

In the last part of the book, Gardner begins by critically evaluating some currently popular solutions to our educational failings, many of which he dismisses as dead ends. Especially enlightening is his analysis of the strengths and limitations of progressive education, particularly its failure to establish standards to monitor the achievement of its well-intentioned goals. Most of the third part of the book offers illustrative projects and techniques that offer promise for accomplishing an education for understanding.

When assessing progressive education, Gardner argues that to succeed it requires:

teachers who are well-trained, dedicated, and absorbed in their work ... parents who not only support the philosophy but are willing to defend it... a community beyond the walls of the school that is hospitable to students who want to learn from its members and its institutions ... and a student body sufficiently motivated and responsible. (p. 195)

For society to develop educational institutions that instill genuine understandings in their students, it will require all of these and more. To attract into and retain in the teaching profession individuals who are capable of achieving high levels of understanding themselves, we will need well-conceived incentives. We will need to foresee the misconceptions held by teachers-to-be about the processes of teaching and learning and to develop effective teacher education programs that facilitate the transformation of these novices first into skilled apprentices and later into master teachers. We will need to graduate teachers who have a sophisticated understanding of the concepts they are trying to teach, of the learners they are attempting to instruct, and of the teaching and learning processes in which they and their students are engaged. And last, we will need to develop working conditions that will allow these highly competent professionals to successfully translate their ambitious ideals into effective educational programs that produce demonstrable accomplishments.

The Unschooled Mind is a masterful and motivating work that successfully integrates developmental psychology and pedagogical policy. Not only has the author identified a worthy goal for the noble enterprise of education, but he has also acknowledged the developmental and institutional constraints that will make the achievement of this goal a challenging task. There is no group of individuals concerned with education—undergraduates entering the profession, graduate students, experienced teachers, university professors, government policy makers, or interested citizens—who could not profitably read this sophisticatedly conceived yet accessibly written book. For initiates to the teaching profession, it can serve at least two useful functions: (a) to help transform misconceptions about what and how to teach; and (b) to provide an inspirational example of the insight and knowledge that can be developed by a dedicated scholar of the human mind. For experienced teachers, the book can help us better understand why the mission in which we have been engaged is so challenging and how we might rededicate ourselves to the teaching profession. I recommend *The Unschooled Mind* to readers who agree that ignorance is the most serious underlying cause of the many problems that confront humanity today and that understanding is our most promising antidote. I also recommend this book to those who believe that “those who can do, and those who understand teach.” And for readers who are committed to a well-conceived excellence in education, I enthusiastically recommend *The Unschooled Mind*, which is unquestionably the product of an admirably schooled mind.

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From Strength to Strength: Social Work Education and Aboriginal People. K. Feehan & D. Hannis (Eds.), 1993, Edmonton, AB: Grant MacEwan Community College.

Reviewed by *Patricia Hughes-Fuller*

As we pulled into the driveway, I noticed blood was dripping from the trunk of one of the cars in the parking lot. I was certain I was entering a different world—and this one appeared hostile. (Wright, Chapter 5, 1993, p. 58)

From Strength to Strength is a book about Aboriginal social work education from the educator's point of view. As the above quote attests, this point of view sometimes reveals more about the insecurities that we may feel when confronting the specter of difference than it does about the complex realities of other cultures (the author later admits—with some embarrassment—that “a woman had shot an elk on her way to class and put it in the trunk of her car where she knew it would freeze quickly” p. 60).

In her introduction editor Kay Feehan refers to the need to develop “a culturally sensitive educational process” (p. 8). She adds that “no one can speak as an expert about another's culture. Only someone who lives the culture daily can identify what that culture means. Thus we saw ourselves as the content experts and our Native students as the cultural experts” (p. 9). She also com-

ments that “sustaining the balance between educational standards and local needs was a continuing struggle” (p. 8).

The contributors reflect a range of personal backgrounds, writing and teaching styles, and theoretical perspectives. The emphasis of much of *From Strength to Strength* is on education for individual empowerment and/or community development (frequently cited sources include Paulo Freire, Audrey McLaughlin, and Carl Rogers). Co-editor David Hannis discusses the potential that education has to either liberate or domesticate and draws a meaningful distinction between education and “schooling” (p. 49). Marianne Wright contends that a student-centered, Rogerian approach is most appropriate when addressing the needs of Native adult learners.

Others echo Feehan’s concern about recognizing and respecting the cultural values of Native people. Kim Zapf questions whether or not orthodox social work models are capable of providing effective teaching strategies in a cross-cultural setting, and one of the more interesting episodes discussed in *From Strength to Strength* deals with a team-teaching project conducted at High Level, Alberta by Zapf and Pam Colorado. Colorado, herself an Aboriginal person, provides a vivid account of her efforts to develop a teaching model which incorporates traditional Tlingit principles.

The issues that Feehan et al. problematize are not new. The literature on Native education reflects a tension between First Nations’ legitimate requests for a culturally sensitive educational process and their rejection of programming that is “watered down” (Carney, 1988; Martin, 1993; Paquette, 1989). However, according to Medicine (1987), “values are as different among Indian tribes as they are among the various Canadian social and ethnic groups” (p. 23). She adds that:

Essentially, Natives have been educated to a Native mode. They must be aware of the non-Native mode so that they can make a better life for themselves and their children. (p. 24)

Still other Native educators question the assumption that “an educational problem rests on intractable cultural differences” (Urion, 1991, p. 8). Perhaps we should simply focus on learning about the cultures of the communities in which we work, while recognizing that our vision may be skewed by our own cultural “baggage.” Medicine (1987) suggests that “an open mind in a sometimes closed system (as some Native communities are) will do much to ease the transition into a cross-cultural setting” (p. 26).

Feehan’s reference to the struggle to balance educational standards with local needs raises other questions. Do instructors sacrifice students or standards, and is it really an either-or choice? How do educators sort out which aspects of their roles are actually about enforcing standards and which are merely “gatekeeping”? What does it mean to a middle-aged woman who for years has been an active and effective helper in her community to be denied certification because she didn’t pass a social work course? Will she be supplanted by an officially sanctioned person, and if so, does this not imply a hierarchy in which academic knowledge is presented as having greater value than traditional practices?

It is also valid to ask how the authors reconcile the position that “conflict is the midwife of change” (Feehan & Hannis, p. 4; Hannis, p. 52) with the expressed aim of “trying to bring back the harmony and respect of the past” (Feehan, p. 9). While conflict is often a by-product of social change, is it necessarily—or in all situations and circumstances—a catalyst? As ethically responsible educators we must acknowledge that some groups and individuals are morally and culturally opposed to conflict. Surely it would be contrary to the spirit of emancipatory education to prescriptively impose a conflict-based process on these learners. Finally, Grossberg (1993) cautions that:

a dialogic practice aims to allow the silenced to speak; only when absolutely necessary does it claim to speak for them. But this assumes that they are not already speaking because ... we do not hear them, perhaps because they are not speaking the right languages or not saying what we would demand of them. (p. 16)

Despite my concerns with the above, I think much of *From Strength to Strength* exemplifies candid, caring, and scrupulously self-critical teacher reflection. In general, the authors appear to have learned a lot from their students, and from the experience of teaching in Native communities. The one exception, in my view, is “A ‘grand lady’s’ voyage into Nowhere Land” by Sophie Freud. Freud’s academic credentials are impressive, but while the quotation marks tell us that “grand lady” was intended tongue-in-cheek, the article itself reveals that this Radcliffe alumnus probably should not have ventured into Nowhere Land (aka Slave Lake, Alberta) without a road map. Reading her description of the Native woman with “big brown eyes and a permanent uncertain smile on her face” (p. 134) that Freud says she “could not reach” (p. 134), I recoiled at the stereotype. Quigley (1990) points out that this way of viewing adult learners is typical of what he terms the deficit perspective. He reminds us that “resisters are not emotional cripples nor the misguided hard-to-reach ... resisters are courageous individuals who give their full allegiance to the culture and values they believe in, even in the face of great personal risk” (p. 114).

From Strength to Strength concludes with statements from three Native students (Carolyn Peacock, Barbara Beaulieu, and Priscilla Lalonde). Each describes her experiences in the social work program and her hopes for the future. Their comments lead me to think there is another book to be written, not from “the Native perspective” because there is no such (universal and homogeneous) thing, but rather from the perspectives—which may or may not be consensual—of the growing numbers of Native social workers who will have taken what they need from the educational system in order to serve their communities. In the meantime we have *From Strength to Strength*, an accessible collection that should be of more than local interest to practitioners of cross-cultural education.

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Is Pedagogy Still a Dirty Word?

Designs for Excellence in Education: The Legacy of B.F. Skinner, Richard P. West & L.A. Hamerlynck (Eds.), 1992, CO: Sopris West, 284 pages.

Reviewed by *Frank J. Symons, Peabody College,
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Twenty-five years ago, Skinner (1969) suggested that effective, alternative methods of teaching were available, that these could be efficiently taught to teachers, and that their use would preclude reliance on traditional punitive arrangements designed to promote student motivation and, ultimately, success. Given the continuous cycles of reform efforts to improve education, one might wonder whether Skinner's suggestions were ever taken seriously, did they work, and, if so, why are they not being used more often?

In this collection of diverse essays, literature reviews, and first-person narratives reflecting on the past and speculating on the future of behavior analysis and education, West and Hamerlynck have brought together a series of papers reflecting on Skinner's charge and his legacy. The papers are written by informed people who pioneered many of the applications suggested by Skinner's work. In a real sense, the papers are the words of torchbearers who have endured the trials and tribulations in getting from theory to practice. Although not an academic book, the contributions or eight "selections" (not chapters) reflect the diverse strands of practice following from common underlying, experimentally derived behavioral principles. The authors provide an "insider's perspective" on the application of instructional technologies that make up the legacy of Skinner, including Programmed Instruction, Precision Teaching, Direct Instruction, Personalized System of Instruction, and Applied Behavior Analysis.

Edgar and Sulzbacher (Selection VI) in their review of Skinner's influences and effects in special education suggest that perhaps nowhere else but in behavior analysis does a system exist that offers a steady, unfolding stream of research guided by empirically derived, tested principles that lead to effective teaching techniques for those who provide services to persons with special

needs. One of the functions of special education, Baer (1972) has insightfully noted elsewhere, is almost the reverse of the regular education tradition, to accomplish meaningful development of the most difficult to teach students—quite often the least supported, the least resourceful, and the least curious students of our society. It is precisely because of trying to address the needs of the most difficult to teach, that we must understand teaching as completely as our behavioral sciences will allow. Baer goes on to illustrate that in centuries past, teaching could well consist primarily of pointing out what there was to be learned, explaining those parts that students did not learn simply by trying, and punishing any absence of trying. Students of special education with diverse needs require a great deal more than this. To teach them, it is imperative to understand the structure of what is being taught. For example, lessons that appear simple are quite often complex, and through analysis these lessons are broken into basic components that are the true simple lessons. Furthermore, it is these simple components that need to be taught prior to some of the later components becoming too complex. It is through a behavior analysis of instruction, more specifically of what it is the teacher is doing, that we learn how to arrange the environmental contingencies and come to understand the principles of effective instruction.

People may counter that the above argument is true for learners with special needs, but can a behavioral approach really demonstrate success in “regular” education? In the regular education tradition most students come to school already in possession of many prerequisite skills, and they quickly learn more in the primary grades. In fact, they are often described as a delight to teach—when what could be meant is that they teach themselves so readily. This is, essentially, Skinner’s (1968) notion of the “Idol of the Good Student,” which describes our belief that what the good student can learn, all students can learn. Thus the regular education students do not require us to understand very much about teaching. At the core of it, this notion illustrates our perhaps misguided belief that what works with the so-called good students should work with all students. However, current state of the practice documents the fact that a method that works with some students (“good” or otherwise) does not mean it will be effective for all. The notion of “Idols” further illustrates our failure to submit teaching and instruction to scientific analysis and our reliance on recurrent standard solutions packaged differently but selling the same content.

Students with disabilities, however, require us to learn all about the profession and practice of teaching, the more so because when we teach them well, they learn what we teach and are then on the road to learning how to teach themselves (Baer, 1972). The disciplines of special education and behavior analysis are advanced enough to be useful, but still require intensive research in understanding students’ behavior in the classroom. Indeed, Edgar and Sulzbacher (Selection VI) ask whether the behavioral paradigm has run its course in special education. Implicit in their discussion is the notion that systems related changes are becoming increasingly important. In other words, the demonstration that “reinforcement works” is no longer, and should no longer be the central issue, but rather how do we get systems (e.g., schools) to be responsive and implement the best instructional technology available?

What of today's typical students? Are they still what Baer (1972) would consider the "easiest to teach"? Despite such promises implicit in America 2000 and other national programs aimed at improving education in the grade schools, it would seem that our colleges of education, the "teachers of teachers" have largely promoted ignorance rather than excellence in the "art" of teaching. As Vargas and Vargas (Selection I) suggest, it is newness, not effectiveness that gains attention for the teacher willing to try out new procedures. Under such contingencies, behavior change (i.e., what students learned) is not evaluated or analyzed; rather, teacher and student reports of how well they liked the "new technology" become the yardstick both in the grade school and beyond. In advanced education, as another example, it remains a mystery (pedagogically) why we continue to rely on a standard lecture format to train teachers. Transmitting knowledge or imparting information via a lecture that requires students to be passive recipients is a practice, Lloyd and Lloyd (Selection IV) remind us, that is antithetical to any behavior analytic understanding of what learning is. The student as an active participant is a long held fundamental tenet of behaviorism and its applications to education. Several of the contributing authors point this out in a variety of ways including West and Young (Selection III) in their discussion of Precision Teaching. They note that active student responding and a direct analysis of what the student and teacher are doing forms the cornerstone of effective instruction.

What of regular education or higher education for that matter? Are we beyond the rhetoric in designing educational programs that promote excellence (or ignorance)? It may be that applied behavior analysis is always educational, but education is not always behavior analytic. Again, Baer (1972) noted that in the past education has not had to be, because until recently, education has served the best supported, the most resourceful, the most curious students—in short, those most proficient at teaching themselves once made aware of what there was to learn. Thus our educational traditions or practices are based on a long history of interaction with the easiest to teach students. If, however, we were to regard good teachers and good students as special cases of the whole we might avoid the mistake of believing that personal experience in the classroom is the primary source of pedagogical wisdom. Skinner (1968) observed some time ago that it is difficult for teachers to profit from experience. The unfortunate solution to this, Greer (Selection VII) notes, is to try to improve pedagogical practice by introducing more sophisticated hardware such as TVs, VCRs, and computers into the classroom. Such devices, of course, will only compound the problems associated with inadequate teaching practices. One solution would seem to require that we steep potential teachers in methods of effective instruction, not through poorly applied technology, but rather through deliberate practice. The notion that in order to become a good (i.e., pedagogically competent) teacher you will need a minimum of 20 half-courses and four practicum placements over two years belies our mistaken traditions of teacher training. Consider some recent data reporting the role of deliberate practice in the acquisition of expert performance (Ericsson, Krampe, & Tesch-Romer, 1993), which documents that to become an expert requires deliberate practice in your domain for approximately 10 years eventually stabilizing at 20 hours of deliberate practice per week. How many hours of deliberate practice

has the typical, or even the best, teacher in training had by the time he or she completes a degree? Greer (Selection VII) concludes that the development of teachers who are experts in pedagogy and behavior analysis, although not sufficient, is a part of the necessary step to improving on teacher training in particular and education in general.

Twenty five year ago, Skinner (1968) wrote that "the modern classroom does not ... offer much evidence that research in the field of learning has been respected or used" (p. 19). A similar question could still be asked today. Pessimism about the current state of affairs aside, West and Hamerlynck bring together a volume that presents an interesting historical view of how Skinner and his view of behavior continues to influence educational thinking and practice. This book will introduce the uninitiated and remind the experienced that a behavior analytic approach to education has a rich history of demonstration and discovery.

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